THE CRISIS

THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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The CRISIS

Vol. 23—No. 1 NOVEMBER, 1921 Whole No. 133

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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AND COPYRIGHTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY. CONDUCTED BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS; JESSIE REDMON FAUSET, LITERARY EDITOR; AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, BUSINESS MANAGER.

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COVER. Figure of Africa typifying "Science" in the Palais Mondial, Brussels, where the Second Pan-African Congress was held. The inscription reads: "I am the one that was, that is, and that shall be. No mortal may unveil my face."

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 23. No. 1 NOVEMBER, 1921 Whole No. 133

Opinion of W. E. B. Du Bois

TO THE WORLD

(Manifesto of the Second Pan-African Congress.)

THE absolute equality of races, —physical, political and social—is the founding stone of world peace and human advancement. No one denies great differences of gift, capacity and attainment among individuals of all races, but the voice of science, religion and practical politics is one in denying the God-appointed existence of super-races, or of races naturally and inevitably and eternally inferior.

That in the vast range of time, one group should in its industrial technique, or social organization, or spiritual vision, lag a few hundred years behind another, or forge fitfully ahead, or come to differ decidedly in thought, deed and ideal, is proof of the essential richness and variety of human nature, rather than proof of the co-existence of demi-gods and apes in human form. The doctrine of racial equality does not interfere with individual liberty, rather, it fulfils it. And of all the various criteria by which masses of men have in the past been prejudged and classified, that of the color of the skin and texture of the hair, is surely the most adventitious and idiotic.

It is the duty of the world to assist in every way the advance of the backward and suppressed groups of mankind. The rise of all men is a menace to no one and is the highest human ideal; it is not an altruistic benevolence, but the one road to world salvation.

For the purpose of raising such peoples to intelligence, self-knowledge and self-control, their intelligentsia of right ought to be recognized as the natural leaders of their groups.

The insidious and dishonorable propaganda, which, for selfish ends, so distorts and denies facts as to represent the advancement and development of certain races of men as impossible and undesirable, should be met with widespread dissemination of the truth. The experiment of making the Negro slave a free citizen in the United States is not a failure; the attempts at autonomous government in Haiti and Liberia are not proofs of the impossibility of self-government among black men; the experience of Spanish America does not prove that mulatto democracy will not eventually succeed there; the aspirations of Egypt and India are not successfully to be met by sneers at the capacity of darker races.

We who resent the attempt to treat civilized men as uncivilized, and who bring in our hearts grievance upon grievance against those who lynch the untried, disfranchise the intelligent, deny self-government to educated men, and insult the helpless, we complain; but not simply or primarily for ourselves—more especially for the millions of our fellows, blood of our blood, and flesh of our flesh, who have not even what we have—the power to complain against monstrous wrong, the power to see and to know the source of our oppression.

How far the future advance of mankind will depend upon the social

contact and physical intermixture of the various strains of human blood is unknown, but the demand for the interpenetration of countries and intermingling of blood has come, in modern days, from the white race alone, and has been imposed upon brown and black folks mainly by brute force and fraud. On top of this, the resulting people of mixed race have had to endure innuendo, persecution, and insult, and the penetrated countries have been forced into semi-slavery.

If it be proven that absolute world segregation by group, color or historic affinity is best for the future, let the white race leave the dark world and the darker races will gladly leave the white. But the proposition is absurd. This is a world of men, of men whose likenesses far outweigh their differences; who mutually need each other in labor and thought and dream, but who can successfully have each other only on terms of equality, justice and mutual respect. They are the real and only peacemakers who work sincerely and peacefully to this end.

The beginning of wisdom in interracial contact is the establishment of political institutions among suppressed peoples. The habit of democracy must be made to encircle the earth. Despite the attempt to prove that its practice is the secret and divine gift of the few, no habit is more natural or more widely spread among primitive people, or more easily capable of development among masses. Local self-government with a minimum of help and oversight can be established tomorrow in Asia, in Africa, in America and in the Isles of the Sea. It will in many instances need general control and guidance, but it will fail only when that guidance seeks ignorantly and consciously its own selfish ends and not the people's liberty and good.

Surely in the 20th century of the Prince of Peace, in the millenium of Buddha and Mahmoud, and in the mightiest Age of Human Reason, there can be found in the civilized world enough of altruism, learning and benevolence to develop native institutions for the native's good, rather than continue to allow the majority of mankind to be brutalized and enslaved by ignorant and selfish agents of commercial institutions, whose one aim is profit and power for the few.

And this brings us to the crux of the matter: It is the shame of the world that today the relation between the main groups of mankind and their mutual estimate and respect is determined chiefly by the degree in which one can subject the other to its service, enslaving labor, making ignorance compulsory, uprooting ruthlessly religion and customs, and destroying government, so that the favored Few may luxuriate in the toil of the tortured Many. Science, Religion and Philanthropy have thus been made the slaves of world commerce and industry, and bodies, minds, souls of Fiji and Congo, are judged almost solely by the quotations on the Bourse.

The day of such world organization is past and whatever excuse be made for it in other ages, the 20th century must come to judge men as men and not as material and labor.

The great industrial problem which has hitherto been regarded as the domestic problem of culture lands, must be viewed far more broadly, if it is ever to reach just settlement. Labor and capital in England, France and America can never solve their problem as long as a similar and vastly greater problem of poverty and injustice marks the relations of the whiter and darker peoples. It is shameful, unreligious, unscientific and undemocratic that the estimate, which half the peoples of earth put on the other half, depends mainly on their ability to squeeze profit out of them.

If we are coming to recognize that the great modern problem is to correct maladjustment in the distribution of wealth, it must be remembered that the basic maladjustment is in the outrageously unjust distribution of world income between the dominant and suppressed peoples; in the rape of land and raw material, and monopoly of technique and culture. And in this crime white labor is *particeps criminis* with white capital. Unconsciously and consciously, carelessly and deliberately, the vast power of the white labor vote in modern democracies has been cajoled and flattered into imperialistic schemes to enslave and debauch black, brown and yellow labor, until with fatal retribution, they are themselves today bound and gagged and rendered impotent by the resulting monopoly of the world's raw material in the hands of a dominant, cruel and irresponsible few.

And, too, just as curiously, the educated and cultured of the world, the well-born and well-bred, and even the deeply pious and philanthropic, receive their training and comfort and luxury, the ministrations of delicate beauty and sensibility, on condition that they neither inquire into the real source of their income and the methods of distribution or interfere with the legal props which rest on a pitiful human foundation of writhing white and yellow and brown and black bodies.

We claim no perfectness of our own nor do we seek to escape the blame which of right falls on the backward for failure to advance, but *noblesse oblige*, and we arraign civilization and more especially the colonial powers for deliberate transgressions of our just demands and their own better conscience.

England, with her Pax Britannica, her courts of justice, established commerce and a certain apparent recognition of native law and customs, has nevertheless systematically fostered ignorance among the natives, has enslaved them and is still enslaving some of them, has usually declined even to try to train black and brown men in real self-government, to recognize civilized black folks as civilized, or to grant to colored colonies those rights of self-government which it freely gives to white men.

Belgium is a nation which has but recently assumed responsibility for her colonies, and has taken some steps to lift them from the worst abuses of the autocratic regime; but she has not confirmed to the people the possession of their land and labor, and she shows no disposition to allow the natives any voice in their own government, or to provide for their political future. Her colonial policy is still mainly dominated by the banks and great corporations. But we are glad to learn that the present government is considering a liberal program of reform for the future.

Portugal and Spain have never drawn a legal caste line against persons of culture who happen to be of Negro descent. Portugal has a humane code for the natives and has begun their education in some regions. But, unfortunately, the industrial concessions of Portuguese Africa are almost wholly in the hands of foreigners whom Portugal cannot or will not control, and who are exploiting land and re-establishing the African slave trade.

The United States of America after brutally enslaving millions of black folks suddenly emancipated them and began their education; but it acted without system or forethought, throwing the freed men upon the world penniless and landless, educating them without thoroughness and system, and subjecting them the while to lynching, lawlessness, discrimination, insult and slander, such as human beings have seldom endured and survived. To save

their own government, they enfranchized the Negro and then when danger passed, allowed hundreds of thousands of educated and civilized black folk to be lawlessly disfranchised and subjected to a caste system; and, at the same time, in 1176, 1812, 1861, 1897, and 1917, they asked and allowed thousands of black men to offer up their lives as a sacrifice to the country which despised and despises them.

France alone of the great colonial powers has sought to place her cultured black citizens on a plane of absolute legal and social equality with her white and given them representation in her highest legislature. In her colonies she has a widespread but still imperfect system of state education. This splendid beginning must be completed by widening the political basis of her native government, by restoring to the indigenes the ownership of the soil, by protecting native labor against the aggression of established capital and by asking no man, black or white, to be a soldier unless the country gives him a voice in his own government.

The independence of Abyssinia, Liberia Haiti and San Domingo, is absolutely necessary to any sustained belief of the black folk in the sincerity and honesty of the white. These nations have earned the right to be free, they deserve the recognition of the world; notwithstanding all their faults and mistakes, and the fact that they are behind the most advanced civilization of the day, nevertheless they compare favorably with the past, and even more recent, history of most European nations, and it shames civilization that the treaty of London practically invited Italy to aggression in Abyssinia, and that free America has unjustly and cruelly seized Haiti, murdered and for a time enslaved her workmen, overthrown her free institutions by force, and has so far failed in return to give her a single bit of help, aid or sympathy.

What do those wish who see these evils of the color line and racial discrimination and who believe in the divine right of suppressed and backward peoples to learn and aspire and be free?

The Negro race through its thinking intelligentsia is demanding:

I—The recognition of civilized men as civilized despite their race or color

II—Local self government for backward groups, deliberately rising as experience and knowledge grow to complete self government under the limitations of a self governed world

III—Education in self knowledge, in scientific truth and in industrial technique, undivorced from the art of beauty

IV—Freedom in their own religion and social customs, and with the right to be different and non-conformist

V—Co-operation with the rest of the world in government, industry and art on the basis of Justice, Freedom and Peace

VI—The ancient common ownership of the land and its natural fruits and defence against the unrestrained greed of invested capital

VII—The establishment under the League of Nations of an international institution for the study of Negro problems

VIII—The establishment of an international section in the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, charged with the protection of native labor.

The world must face two eventualities: either the complete assimilation of Africa with two or three of the great world states, with political, civil and social power and privileges absolutely equal for its black and white citizens, or the rise of a great black African state founded in Peace and Good Will, based on popular education, natural art and industry and

GENERAL LUIS SORELAS

freedom of trade; autonomous and sovereign in its internal policy, but from its beginning a part of a great society of peoples in which it takes its place with others as co-rulers of the world.

In some such words and thoughts as these we seek to express our will and ideal, and the end of our untiring effort. To our aid we call all men of the Earth who love Justice and Mercy. Out of the depths we have cried unto the deaf and dumb masters of the world. Out of the depths we cry to our own sleeping souls.

The answer is written in the stars.

ROBERT T. KERLIN

READERS of THE CRISIS will remember the appearance a year ago of a compilation of Negro opinion gathered in a volume entitled "The Voice of the Negro." Here for the first time we had a book bringing to the white as well as the colored reader the Negro's criticism, through his own press, of America's treatment of him and his race. The book contained an interesting preface by its compiler, Prof. Robert T. Kerlin, professor of English at Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va. Prof. Kerlin followed this by a pamphlet on "Contemporary Negro Poetry." He might have continued his literary efforts undisturbed; but the immediate wrongs of the Negro pressed upon him, and when he read of the condemnation to death of the six Negroes in Arkansas concerned in the Elaine riots, he used his splendid command of English to publish an open letter to Thomas C. McRae, Governor of Arkansas, entreating the Governor to give earnest consideration to the sentence of the courts pronounced upon these Negroes. "Not in the history of our Republic," Prof. Kerlin said, "has a more tremendous responsibility before God and the civilized world devolved upon the shoulders of the chief executive of any State than has devolved upon yours *in re* the Negroes of Phillips County condemned to death in the electric chair and so sentenced by the courts of your State. It is a deed to be contemplated with extreme horror. In the execution of these men, a race is suffering crucifixion."

In his letter, Prof. Kerlin explains the iniquities of the peonage system and the travesty of trial given the Elaine Negroes. The letter received much publicity and was so resented by the Board of the Virginia Military Institute that Prof. Kerlin's resignation was called for. Refusing to resign, he was thereupon dismissed by the Board, which stated that "he had rendered his further connection with the Virginia Military Institute undesirable."

We can not express too deeply our appreciation of Prof. Kerlin's course in sending his letter to the Governor of Arkansas, and in standing unswervingly by his convictions in his dealings with his Board. Virginia Military Institute, designed to promote courage and ardour in youth, has dismissed from its force a man displaying the finest courage the Institute is ever likely to see.

Only through self criticism can an individual or a nation progress. The South steadily suppresses self criticism and thus yearly retrogrades showing itself more and more and more sterile. It cannot suppress a man like Mr. Kerlin, but judging from its past acts, with the Ku Klux spirit, it will drive him beyond its borders. Perhaps more than any other section of the world, the South refuses to listen to the voice that cries in the wilderness.

KU KLUX KLAN

THE white knights are on the run. Their flowing robes no longer present the dignified appearance made familiar to millions of Americans by "The Birth

of A Nation." Instead they stream in ridiculous tatters. Since the New York *World* has described the mischievous and dangerous plans plotted behind their masks their power is ended. We have learned a great deal about their Grand Wizard and their Kleagles and we know now that the Klan is a money-making affair selling stock based on race prejudice.

Congratulations to the New York *World* for its wonderful exposure. The part that the Association took in the exposure, the assistance that it was able to give, is told in this number under National Association notes.

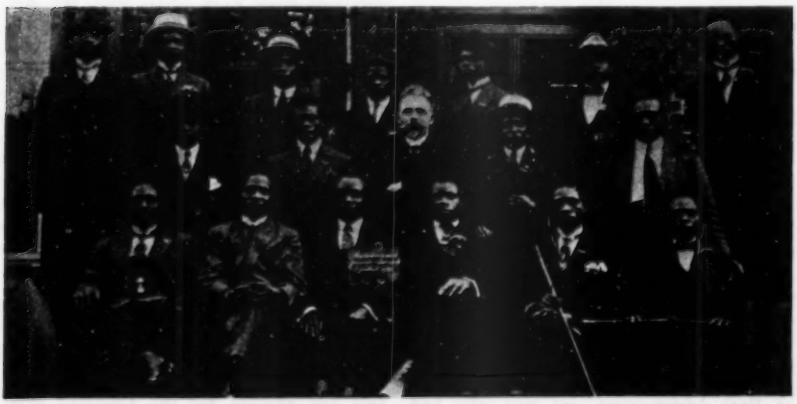
"AMERICA'S MAKING"

THE part which each group has had in the development of this land will be clearly shown in "America's Making," a pageant and exhibit which will show three centuries of racial and immigrant contributions to our national life. From October 29 to November 12, through pageants, festivities and exhibits, the gift of each race to America will be set forth. This demonstration is under the general supervision of the State Board of Education and of the City of New York. The overhead expense is being cared for by the city and state, but each racial or national group is expected to defray the expenses of its own exhibit and pageants.

Negroes have been invited to participate and have had delegates at all the conferences at which the plans of the enterprise have been worked out. The committee on Negro exhibit has as its chairman, James Weldon Johnson and as its secretary, Eugene Kinckle Jones.

This committee plans to have a continuous exhibit showing the contribution of the Negro in exploration, literature, art, music, invention and labor. On Thursday night, November 10, "A Festival of Negro Music" will be staged with a chorus of several hundred voices and an orchestra of more than fifty pieces. At this time a primer of Negro accomplishments will be distributed. Thousands of people will for the first time gain direct information concerning the Negro's worth to America.

The educational value of this exhibit cannot be estimated. For a modest budget of $3000, it is believed that the committee on the Negro exhibit can provide a program which will favorably compare with any other.



L'UNION CONGOLAISE. BELGIUM

IMPRESSIONS OF THE SECOND PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

JESSIE FAUSET

I

THE dream of a Pan-African Congress had already come true in 1919. Yet it was with hearts half-wondering, half fearful that we ventured to realize it afresh in 1921. So tenuous, so delicate had been its beginnings. Had the black world, although once stirred by the terrific rumblings of the Great War, relapsed into its lethargy? Then out of Africa just before it was time to cross the Atlantic came a letter, one of many, but this the most appealing word from the Egyptian Sudan: "Sir: We cannot come but we are sending you this small sum ($17.32), to help toward the expenses of the Pan-African Congress. Oh Sir, we are looking to you for we need help sorely!"

So with this in mind we crossed the seas not knowing just what would be the plan of action for the Congress, for would not its members come from the four corners of the earth and must there not of necessity be a diversity of opinion, of thought, of project? But the main thing, the great thing, was that Ethiopia's sons through delegates were stretching out their hands from all over the black and yearning world.

II

THEN one day, the 27th of August, we met in London in Central Hall, under the shadow of Westminster Abbey. Many significant happenings had those cloisters looked down on, but surely on none more significant than on this group of men and women of African descent, so different in rearing and tradition and yet so similar in purpose. The rod of the common oppressor had made them feel their own community of blood, of necessity, of problem.

Men from strange and diverse lands came together. We were all of us foreigners. South Africa was represented, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Lagos, Grenada, the United States of America, Martinique, Liberia. No natives of Morocco or of East Africa came, yet men who had lived there presented and discussed their problems. British Guiana and Jamaica were there and the men and women of African blood who were at that time resident in London.

That was a wonderful meeting. I think that at first we did not realize how wonderful. The first day Dr. Alcindor of London and Rev. Jernagin of Washington presided; the second day Dr. DuBois and Mr. Archer, ex-Mayor of Battersea, London. Of necessity those first meetings had to be occasions for getting acquainted, for bestowing confidences for opening up our hearts. Native African and native American stood side by side and said, "Brother, this is my lot; tell me what is yours!"

Mr. H. A. Hunt of Fort Valley, Ga., Mr. R. P. Sims of Bluefield, W. Va., Dr. Wilberforce Williams of Chicago, Mrs. Hart Felton of Americus, Ga., Professor Hutto of Bainbridge, Ga., Rev. W. H. Jernagin of Washington, D. C., Dr. H. R. Butler of Atlanta, Mr. Nelson of Kentucky, Dr. DuBois, Mr. White, Mrs. Kelley and Miss Fauset—all these told of America. And in return Dr. Olaribigbee and Mr. Thomas of West Africa, Mr. Augusto of Lagos, Mrs. Davis of South Africa, Mr. Marryshow of Grenada, Mr. Norman Leys, a white Englishman who knew East Africa well, Mr. Arnold, also white, who knew Morocco, Mr. Varma and Mr. Satkalavara of India told the tale of Africa and of other countries of which the Americans knew little or nothing.

We listened well. What can be more fascinating than learning at first hand that the stranger across the seas, however different in phrase or expression, yet knows no difference of heart? We were all one family in London. What small divergences of opinion, slight suspicions, doubtful glances there may have been at first were all quickly dissipated. We felt our common blood with almost unbelievable unanimity.

Out of the flood of talk emerged real fact and purpose for the American delegate. First, that West Africa had practically no problems concerning the expro-

priation of land but had imminent something else, the problem of political power and the heavy and insulting problem of segregation. The East African, on the other hand, and also the South African had no vestige of a vote (save in Natal), had been utterly despoiled of the best portions of his land, nor could he buy it back. In addition to this the East African had to consider the influx of the East Indian who might prove a friend, or might prove as harsh a taskmaster as the European despoiler.

Through the inter-play of speech and description and idea, two propositions flashed out—one, the proposition of Mr. Augusto, a splendid, fearless speaker from Lagos, that the Pan-African Congress should accomplish something very concrete. He urged that we start with the material in hand and advance to better things. First of all let us begin by financing the Liberian loan. Liberia is a Negro Independency already founded. "Let us," pleaded Mr. Augusto, "lend the solid weight of the newly-conscious black world toward its development."

The other proposition was that of Mr. Marryshow, of Grenada, and of Professor Hutto of Georgia. "We must remember," both of them pointed out, "that not words but actions are needed. We must be prepared to put our hands in our pockets; we must make sacrifices to help each other. "Tell us what to do," said Mr. Hutto, "and the Knights of Pythias of Georgia stand ready, 80,000 strong, to do their part."

Those were fine, constructive words. Then at the last meeting we listened to the resolutions which Dr. DuBois had drawn up. Bold and glorious resolutions they were, couched in winged, unambiguous words. Without a single dissenting vote the members of the Congress accepted them. We clasped hands with our newly found brethren and departed, feeling that it was good to be alive and most wonderful to be colored. Not one of us but envisaged in his heart the dawn of a day of new and perfect African brotherhood.

III

DOWN to Dover we flew, up the English Channel to Ostend, and thence to Brussels.

Brussels was different. How shall I explain it? The city was like most other large cities, alive and bustling, with its share of noise. All about us were beautiful, large buildings and commodious stores, except in the public squares where the ancient structures, the town hall and the like, centuries old, recalled the splendor and dignity of other days. But over Brussels hung the shadow of monarchical government. True London is the heart of a monarchy, too, but the stranger does not feel it unless he is passing Buckingham Palace or watching the London Horse Guards change.

At first it was not so noticeable.

We had been invited by Paul Otlet and Senator LaFontaine and had been helped greatly by M. Paul Panda, a native of the Belgian Congo who had been educated in Belgium. The Congress itself was held in the marvellous *Palais Mondial*, the World Palace situated in the Cinquantenaire Park. We could not have asked for a better setting. But there *was* a difference. In the first place, there were many more white than colored people—there are not many of us in Brussells—and it was not long before we realized that their interest was deeper, more immediately significant than that of the white people we had found elsewhere. Many of Belgium's economic and material interests centre in Africa in the Belgian Congo. Any interference with the natives might result in an interference with the sources from which so many Belgian capitalists drew their prosperity.

After all, who were these dark strangers speaking another tongue and introducing Heaven only knew what ideas to be carried into the Congo? Once when speaking of the strides which colored America had made in education I suggested to M. Panda that perhaps some American colored teachers might be induced to visit the Congo and help with the instruction of the natives.

"Oh, no, no, no!" he exclaimed, and added the naive explanation, "Belgium would never permit that, the colored Americans are too *malins* (clever)."

After we had visited the Congo Museum we were better able to understand the unspoken determination of the Belgians to let nothing interfere with their dominion in the Congo. Such treasures! Such illimitable riches! What a store-house it must plainly be for them. For the first time in my life I was able to envisage what Af-

rica means to Europe, depleted as she has become through the ages by war and famine and plague. In the museum were the seeds of hundreds of edible plants; there was wood—great trunks of dense, fine-grained mahogany as thick as a man's body is wide and as long as half a New York block. Elephants' tusks gleamed, white and shapely, seven feet long from tip to base without allowing for the curve, and as broad through as a man's arm. All the wealth of the world—skins and furs, gold and copper—would seem to center in the Congo.

Nor was this all. Around us in the spacious rooms were the expression of an earlier but well developed art, wood-carvings showing beyond the shadow of a doubt the inherent artistry of the African. Dearest of all, yet somehow least surprising to us, was the number of musical instruments. There is not a single musical instrument in the world, I would venture to say, of which the Congo cannot furnish a prototype.

Native wealth, native art lay about us in profusion even in the museum. Small wonder that the Belgian men and women watched us with careful eyes.

The program in Brussels was naturally different from that in London. We undertook to learn something of the culture which colored people had achieved in the different parts of the world, but we hoped also to hear of actual native conditions as we had heard of them in the first conference. M. Panda spoke of the general development of the Congo, Madame Saroléa of the Congolese woman. Miss Fauset told of the colored graduates in the United States and showed the pictures of the first women who had obtained the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Bishop Phillips of Nashville and Bishop Hurst of Baltimore greeted the assembly. Mrs. Curtis told of Liberia, the presiding officer of the Conference, M. Diagne, and his white colleague M. Barthélemy from the Pas de Calais, in the French Chamber of Deputies, ably assisted.

Belgian officialdom was well represented. General Sorelas of Spain spoke of the problem of the mixed race. Another General, a Belgian, splendid in ribbons and orders, was on the platform, and two members of the Belgian Colonial Office were present, "unofficially."

There was no doubt but that our assembly was noted. A fine, fresh-faced youth from the International University gave us a welcome from students of all nations; we were invited to a reception at the Hotel de Ville (City Hall) in the ancient public square, and on the last day General Sorelas and his beautiful wife and daughters received us all in their home.

And yet the shadow of Colonial dominion governed. Always the careful Belgian eye watched and peered, the Belgian ear listened. For three days we listened to pleasant generalities without a word of criticism of Colonial Governments, without a murmur of complaint of Black Africa, without a suggestion that this was an international Congress called to define and make intelligible the greatest set of wrongs against human beings that the modern world has known. We realized of course how delicate the Belgian situation was and how sensitive a conscience the nation had because of the atrocities of the Leopold regime. We knew the tremendous power of capital organized to exploit the Congo; but despite this we proposed before the Congress was over to voice the wrongs of Negroes temperately but clearly. We assumed of course that this was what Belgium expected, but we reckoned without our hosts in a very literal sense. Indeed as we afterward found, we were reckoning without our own presiding officer, for without doubt M. Diagne on account of his high position in the French Government had undoubtedly felt called on to assure the Belgian Government that no "radical" step would be taken by the Congress. He sponsored therefore a mild resolution suggested by the secretaries of the Palais Mondial stating that Negroes were "susceptible" of education and pledging cooperation of the Pan-African Congress with the international movement in Belgium. When the London resolutions (which are published this month as our leading editorial), were read, M. Diagne was greatly alarmed, and our Belgian visitors were excited. The American delegates were firm and for a while it looked as though the main session of the Pan-African Congress was destined to end in a rather disgraceful row. It was here, however, that the American delegates under the leadership of Dr. DuBois, showed themselves the real masters of the situation. With only formal

and dignified protest, they allowed M. Diagne to "jam through" his resolutions and adjourn the session; but they kept their own resolutions in place before the Congress to come up for final consideration in Paris, and they maintained the closing of the session in Brussels in order and unity. I suppose the white world of Europe has never seen a finer example of unity and trust on the part of Negroes toward a Negro leader.

But we left Belgium in thoughtful and puzzled mood. How great was this smothering power which made it impossible for men even in a scientific Congress to be frank and to express their inmost desires? Not one word, for instance, had been said during the whole Congress by Belgian white or black, or French presiding officer which would lead one to suspect that Leopold and his tribe had ever been other than the Congo's tutelary angels. Apparently not even an improvement could be hinted at. And the few Africans who were present said nothing. But at that last meeting just before we left, a Congolese came forward and fastened the button of the Congo Union in Dr. DuBois' coat.

What lay behind that impassive face?

IV

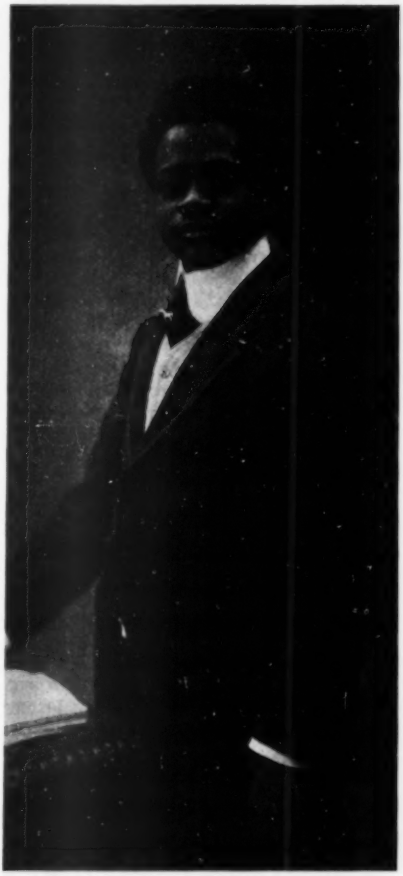
AT last Paris!

Between Brussels and the queen city of the world we saw blasted town, ravaged village and plain, ruined in a war whose basic motif had been the rape of Africa. What should we learn of the black man in France?

Already we had realized that the black colonial's problem while the same intrinsically, wore on the face of it a different aspect from that of the black Americans. Or was it that we had learned more quickly and better than they the value of organization, of frankness, of freedom of speech? We wondered then and we wonder still though Heaven knows in all humility.

But Paris at last, with its glow and its lights and its indefinable attraction!

We met in the Salle des Ingénieurs (Engineers' Hall) in little Rue Blanche back of the Opera. Logan was there, Béton and Dr. Jackson, men who had worked faithfully and well for us even before we had come to Paris. And around us were more strange faces—new types to us—from Senegal, from the French Congo, from



M. PAUL PANDA

Madagascar, from Annam. I looked at that sea of dark faces and my heart was moved within me. However their white overlords or *their* minions might plot and plan and thwart, nothing could dislodge from the minds of all of them the knowledge that black was at last stretching out to black, hands of hope and the promise of unity though seas and armies divided.

On the platform was, I suppose, the intellectual efflorescence of the Negro race. To American eyes and, according to the papers, to many others, Dr. DuBois loomed first, for he had first envisaged this movement and many of us knew how gigantically he had toiled. Then there was M. Belle-

garde, the Haitian minister to France and Haitian delegate to the assembly of the League of Nations. Beside him sat the grave and dignified delegate from the *Liga Africana* of Lisbon, Portugal, and on the other side the presiding officer, M. Diagne and his colleague, M. Candace, French deputy from Guadeloupe. A little to one side sat the American Rayford Logan, assistant secretary of the Pan-African Congress at Paris and our interpreter. His translations, made off-hand without a moment's preparation, were a remarkable exhibition.

In the audience besides those faithful American delegates* who had followed us from London on, were other friends, Henry O. Tanner, Captain and Mrs. Napoleon Marshall, who had joined us in Paris, Bishop and Mrs. Hurst, who had come back from Brussels to Paris with us, Captain and Mrs. Arthur Spingarn, white delegates from America, who had attended the cosferences regularly and had laughed and worked with us in between whiles.

The situation in Paris was less tense, one felt the difference between monarchy and republic. But again the American was temporarily puzzled. Even allowing for natural differences of training and tradition, it seemed absurd to have the floor given repeatedly to speakers who dwelt on the glories of France and the honor of being a black Frenchman, when what we and most of those humble delegates wanted to learn was about *us*.

The contrast between the speakers of the Eastern and Western hemispheres with but two exceptions was most striking. Messieurs Diagne and Candace gave us fine oratory, magnificent gestures—but platitudes. But the speeches of Dr. DuBois, of Edward Frazier, of Walter White, of Dr. Jackson, of a young and and fiery Jamaican and of M. Bellegarde, gave facts and food for thought. The exceptions were the speeches of M. Challaye, a white member of the Society for the Defense of African Natives, and those of the grave and courtly Portuguese, Messieurs Magalhaens and Santos-Pinto.

But this audience was different from that in Brussells. To begin with, its members were mainly black and being black, had suffered. More than one man to whom the unusually autocratic presiding officer had not given the right to speak said to me after hearing Dr. DuBois' exposition of the meaning and purpose of the Pan-African Congress, "Do you think I could get a chance to speak to Dr. DuBois? There is much I would tell him."

France is a colonial power but France is a republic. And so when our resolutions were presented once more to this the final session of the Pan-African Congress, that audience felt that here at last was the fearless voicing of the long stifled desires of their hearts, here was comprehension, here was the translation of hitherto unsyllabled, unuttered prayers. The few paragraphs about capitalism M. Diagne postponed "for the consideration of the next Pan-African Congress." But the rest that yearning, groping audience accepted with their souls.

The last session of the last day was over. It was midnight and spent and happy we found our way home through the streets of Paris which never sleeps.

V

YET after all the real task was at Geneva. The city struck us dumb at first with its beauty of sky and water—the blue and white of the September heavens above, Lake Geneva and the Rhone River gliding green and transparent under stone bridges, black and white swans, red-beaked, floating lazily about green baby islands, and above and beyond all in the far distance Mont Blanc rising hoary, serene and majestic. In the sunset it looked like burnished silver.

But scant time we had for looking at that! The Assembly of the League of Nations was on. A thousand petitions and resolutions were in process of being presented. Delegates from many nations were here and men of international name and fame were presiding. How were we to gain audience?

Fortunately for us Dr. DuBois' name and reputation proved the open sesame. He had not been in the city two hours before invitations and requests for interviews poured in. One of our staunchest helpers was an English woman, Lady Cecelia, wife of that Mr. Roberts who had worked with Montague in India. She presided at meals at a long table in the dining room of the *Hotel des Familles* and here Dr. DuBois was made a welcome guest throughout his whole stay. Here came to meet and con-

*A list of the delegates will be published later.

fer with him on our cause Mr. Roberts himself, Mr. Lief-Jones, M.P., Professor Gilbert Murray (representing South Africa at the Assembly of the League of Nations), and John H. Harris of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society. M. Bellegarde, Haitian Minister to France and delegate to the Assembly, was also at that hotel and gave us generously of his aid and assistance.

On Monday night, September 13, Dr. DuBois addressed the English Club of Geneva and conveyed to them some idea of what the black world was thinking, feeling and doing with regard to the Negro problem. I am sure that many of that group of people, thinkers and students though they were, had never dreamed before that there might even be a black point of view. But they took their instruction bravely and afterwards thanked Dr. DuBois with shining eyes and warm hand clasps.

Besides meeting and conferring with these distinguished personages Dr. DuBois had luncheon conferences with Réné Claparède of the executive committee of the *Société Internationale pour la Protection des Indigènes* and with William Rappard, head of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, a dinner conference with G. Spiller, former secretary of the Races Congress, and an interview with Albert Thomas, head of the International Bureau of Labor.

At the end of a week of steady driving, by dint of interviewing, of copying, of translating, of recopying, we were ready to present and did present to Sir Eric Drummond, secretary of the League of Nations, a copy in French and English of the resolutions entitled To The World (see page 5) and of the manifesto (see page 18). Mr. Thomas and M. Rappard who both heartily endorsed the appointment of a "man of Negro descent" to the Mandates Commission, Professor Gilbert Murray, and M. Bellegarde also received copies.

And between whiles we listened to the world striving to right its wrongs at the Assembly of the League of Nations.

Of course we were at a disadvantage because America, not being in the League of Nations, had no delegate. But Professor Murray suggested to M. Bellegarde, the Haitian delegate, that he state the second resolution (see manifesto) during the debate on Mandates. This he did, as Professor Murray writes us, with "quite remarkable success" and "I think that next year it may be quite suitable to put it down as a resolution."

VI

RESULTS are hard to define. But I must strive to point out a few. First then, out of these two preliminary conferences of 1919 and 1921, a definite organization has been evolved, to be known as the Pan-African Congress. There will be more of this in these pages. Naturally working with people from all over the world, with the necessity for using at least two languages, with the limited detailed knowledge which the black foreigner is permitted to get of Africa and with the pressure brought to bear on many Africans to prevent them from frank speech—action must be slow and very careful. It will take years for an institution of this sort to function. But it is on its own feet now and the burden no longer is on black America. It must stand or fall by its own merits.

We have gained proof that organization on our part arrests the attention of the world. We had no need to seek publicity. If we had wanted to we could not have escaped it. The press was with us always. The white world is feverishly anxious to know of our thoughts, our hopes, our dreams. Organization is our strongest weapon.

It was especially arresting to notice that the Pan-African Congress and the Assembly of the League of Nations differed not a whit in essential methods. Neither attempted a hard and fast program. Lumbering and slow were the wheels of both activities. There had to be much talk, many explanations, an infinity of time and patience and then talk again. Neither the wrongs of Africa nor of the world, can be righted in a day nor in a decade. We can only make beginnings.

The most important result was our realization that there is an immensity of work ahead of all of us. We have got to learn everything—facts about Africa, the difference between her colonial governments, one foreign language at least (French or Spanish), new points of view, generosity of ideal and of act. All the possibilities of all black men are needed to weld together

the black men of the world against the day when black and white meet to do battle.

God grant that when that day comes we shall be so powerful that the enemy will say, "But behold! these men are our brothers."

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MANIFESTO TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE second Pan-African Congress which met in London, Brussels and Paris, August 28, 29 and 31 and September 2, 3, 5 and 6, represented 26 different groups of people of Negro descent: namely, British Nigeria, Gold Coast and Sierra Leone; the Egyptian Sudan, British East Africa, former German East Africa; French Senegal, the French Congo and Madagascar; Belgian Congo; Portuguese St. Thomé, Angola and Mozambique; Liberia; Abyssinia; Haiti; British Jamaica and Grenada; French Martinique and Guadeloupe; British Guiana; the United States of America, Negroes resident in England, France, Belgium and Portugal, and fraternal visitors from India, Morocco, the Philippines and Annam.

The Congress adopted two sets of resolutions differing somewhat in detail but essentially identical. The first set of resolutions (adopted unanimously at London) is presented in its original English text; the second set (discussed at Brussels and adopted unanimously at Paris) is presented in its original French text.

The Congress directed its executive officers to approach the League of Nations with three earnest requests, believing that the greatest international body in the world must sooner or later turn its attention to the great racial problem as it today affects persons of Negro descent.

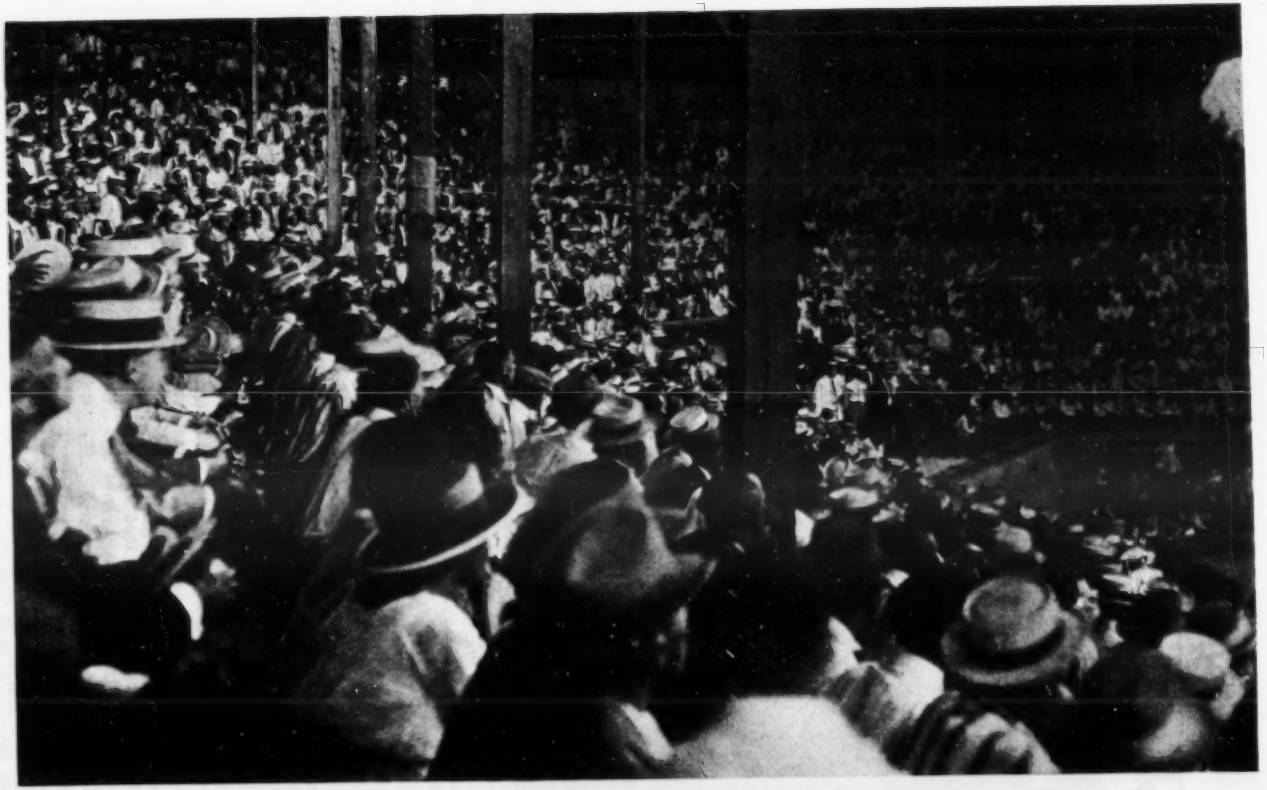
First: The second Pan-African Congress asks that in the International Bureau of Labor a section be set aside to deal particularly and in detail with the conditions and needs of native Negro labor especially in Africa and in the Islands of the Sea. It is the earnest belief of the Congress that the labor problems of the world cannot be understood or properly settled so long as colored and especially Negro labor is enslaved and neglected, and that a first step toward the world emancipation of labor would be through investigation of native labor.

Secondly: The second Pan-African Congress wishes to suggest that the spirit of the modern world moves toward self-government as the ultimate aim of all men and nations and that consequently the mandated areas, being peopled as they are so largely by black folk, have a right to ask that a man of Negro descent, properly fitted in character and training, be appointed a member of the Mandates Commission so soon as a vacancy occurs.

Thirdly and finally: The second Pan-African Congress desires most earnestly and emphatically to ask the good offices and careful attention of the League of Nations to the condition of civilized persons of Negro descent throughout the world. Consciously and unconsciously, there is in the world today a widespread and growing feeling that it is permissible to treat civilized men as uncivilized if they are colored and more especially of Negro descent. The result of this attitude and many consequent laws, customs and conventions is that a bitter feeling of resentment, personal insult and despair is widespread in the world among those very persons whose rise is the hope of the Negro race.

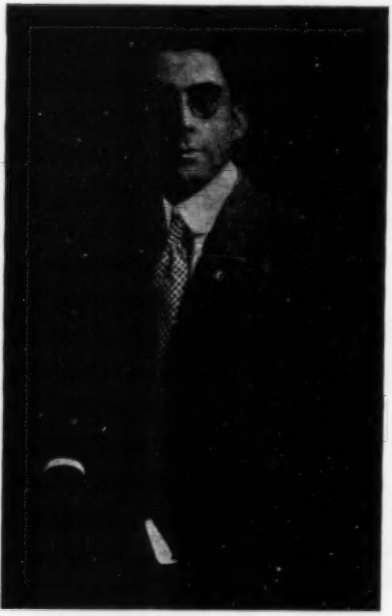
We are fully aware that the League of Nations has little if any direct power to adjust these matters, but it has the vast moral power of world public opinion and of a body conceived to promote peace and justice among men. For this reason we ask and urge that the League of Nations take a firm stand on the absolute equality of races and that it suggest to the Colonial Powers connected with the League of Nations the forming of an International Institute for the study of the Negro Problems, and for the Evolution and Protection of the Negro Race.

W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS,
Geneva, September 15, 1921. *Secretary.*



WATCHING A BASEBALL GAME AT THE CRESCENT STARS' AMUSEMENT BASEBALL PARK, NEW ORLEANS

A NEW ORLEANS BASEBALL PARK



WALLACE C. MARINE

NEGROES in New Orleans have developed a liking for picnics, fairs and baseball games. For these amusements they were compelled to use the Fair Grounds, which is owned and controlled by white people. The owners charged the colored people enormous prices for rental, and would not permit them to rent the grounds on holidays, and seldom on Sundays.

This state of affairs became aggravated when a committee of colored men planned an affair for July 4. They succeeded in renting the grounds, paying the required deposit, and began their advertising. When, however, the owners realized that they had inadvertently rented the grounds to colored people for July 4, they revoked the privilege, and only through the services of a lawyer were the Negroes given satisfaction.

Mr. Wallace C. Marine, thereupon, began a search for suitable grounds which colored people could own, control and operate. Having succeeded in this step, he approached the Honorable Mr. Walter L. Cohen, a Negro, who assisted not only with his broad experience, but also with his influence with the city authorities.

A Board of Directors was formed, consisting of fourteen men, each of whom bought at least $1,000 worth of stock. Mr. Wallace C. Marine was elected president; Mr. F. V. Fauria, treasurer, and Mr. C. C. Dejoie, secretary. Other members of the Board of Directors are: Messrs. Walter L. Cohen, Dr. P. H. V. Dejoie, Albert Workman, Bernard Delpit, Arthur P. Bedou, A. J. Bigard, Joseph W. Elliott, Edward E. Woodruff, George Andre, Arnold Dufourchard, Edwin Fauria, Walter Bemiss and Dr. F. T. Jones.

After a capital stock of $25,000 had been subscribed by the members of the Board of Directors, the common stock was opened to the public, and $45,000 was subscribed, the shares being $50 each.

The ground has been named The Crescent Stars' Amusement Baseball Park. The site is situated in the Seventh Ward, which is better known as the downtown or Creole District—"Faubourg Treme." It is four squares from St. Bernard Boulevard, which is one of the prettiest thoroughfares in New Orleans.

The Park was planned and built by Negroes. It has a baseball diamond, a grandstand, a dancing pavillion and booths for refreshments. The Crescent Stars' Baseball Club, of which Mr. Marine is the Manager, is a great attraction. The park has a seating capacity of 4,000 and can be rented at any time for a nominal sum.

New Orleans, therefore, can well boast of her amusement place which is owned, controlled and operated solely by Negroes.

This enterprise is but one of the many indications of the new spirit which is gradually invading one of the most conservative Negro communities of the world.

National · Association · for · the · ... Advancement · of · Colored · People.

THE 24TH INFANTRY PRISONERS

ON Wednesday, September 28, a delegation of 30 leading colored men and women, headed by James Weldon Johnson, Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., had an audience with President Harding and presented a petition, signed by 50,000 persons, asking for the pardon of the 61 soldiers of the 24th Infantry who are confined in Leavenworth as a result of rioting in Houston, Texas, in August, 1917.

In the delegation with Mr. Johnson, or lending their names to it, were the Hon. Mr. Archibald Grimké, president of the Washington Branch; Major R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute; R. S. Abbott, editor of the Chicago *Defender;* Emmett J. Scott, special assistant to the Secretary of War during the World War; Prof. George W. Cook and Kelly Miller, of Howard University; Robert R. Church, colored Republican leader in Tennessee; Dr. Charles E. Bentley, of Chicago; Miss Nannie H. Burroughs; Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, honorary president of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs; Mrs. Mary Church Terrell; Mrs. Alice Dunbar Nelson, Harry H. Pace, John Hope, the Hon. Mr. J. C. Asbury, member Pennsylvania Legislature; Harry E. Davis, member of the Ohio Legislature; Drs. William H. Washington and W. W. Wolfe, of Newark, N. J.; the Rev. Mr. R. H. Singleton, of Atlanta, Ga.; James A. Cobb, counsel for the N. A. A. C. P., and John R. Hawkins, financial secretary of the A. M. E. Church.

Mr. Johnson in presenting the petition said:

As Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and spokesman for this delegation, composed of persons and representatives of bodies deeply concerned for America's good name, I have the honor to present a petition signed by 50,000 American citizens, white and black, praying that you exercise executive clemency, and pardon the 61 members of the 24th U. S. Infantry now in the Federal Prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, convicted on charges of rioting at Houston, Texas, in August, 1917.

We are a delegation representing the 50,000 signers of this petition which we have the honor to lay before you, and we come not only as a representative of those who signed the petition, but we are spokesmen of the sentiments of the ten millions or more of Negro citizens of the United States.

The petition, you will note, asks for their pardon on three grounds: first, the previous record for discipline, service and soldierly conduct of the 24th Infantry; second, the provocation of local animosity which manifested itself in insults, threats and acts of violence against colored soldiers; third, the heavy punishment meted out to members of the 24th Infantry of whom 19 were hanged, 13 of them summarily and without right of appeal to the Secretary of War or to the President, their Commander-in-Chief. This wholesale, unprecedented and almost clandestine execution shocked the entire country and appeared to the colored people to savor of vengeance rather than justice. Sixty-one members of the 24th Infantry are still in prison serving life and long time sentences.

Contrary to all precedent, the provost guard of this colored regiment had been disarmed in a state and in a city where insult was the colored United States soldier's daily experience. Following a long series of humiliating and harassing incidents, one soldier was brutally beaten and a well beloved non-commissioned officer of the regiment was fired upon because they had intervened in the mistreatment of a colored woman by local policemen. The report spread among the regiment that their non-commissioned officer, Corporal Baltimore, had been killed. Whatever acts may have been committed by these men were not the result of any premeditated design. The men were goaded to sudden and frenzied action. This is borne out by the long record of orderly and soldierly conduct on the part of this regiment throughout its whole history up to that time.

Moreover, although white citizens of Houston were involved in these riots and the regiment to which these men belonged was officered entirely by white men, none but Negroes, so far as we have been able to learn, have ever been prosecuted or punished. In consequence, the wholesale punishment meted out to these colored soldiers of their country bore the aspect of a visitation upon their color rather than upon their crime. The attention of colored people throughout the United States will be

focussed upon the action which it may please you to take.

In consideration, therefore, of the almost five years already served in prison by the 61 men and of the foregoing facts, and because of the long record for bravery, discipline and soldierly conduct of this particular regiment, and in the name of the steadfast loyalty of the American Negro in every crisis of the nation, we bespeak your attention to the petition which we beg herewith to present to you.

The President promised to review the testimony in the cases of the soldiers and to take the request made in this important petition under advisement. Mr. Johnson also made reference to the gratification of the colored people that the government through two channels was investigating the nefarious Ku Klux Klan.

FIGHTING TREASON

THE treason which consists of commercialized race hatred and masquerades as Americanism has found a dangerous antagonist in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. For more than a year the Association has fought the Ku Klux Klan with the weapons of publicity and fact-telling, until such a powerful engine in moulding public opinion as the New York *World* became convinced of the necessity of taking up the fight. The exposé in the *World* has torn the last rag of secrecy off the Klan's mummery and it is shown to be the lowest and vilest sort of money-making scheme conducted by those who are ready to play upon prejudices of any and every sort for their own advantage. This exposé travelled the length and breadth of the United States, being reprinted in dozens of powerful newspapers.

Even before the election of 1920, in which the Ku Klux Klan attempted to intimidate colored voters, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was endeavoring to obtain facts about these bed-sheet heroes. An officer of the Association discovered, when he was invited to join the Klan under the mistaken impression that he was a white man, that the Klan intended to organize in New York City. The attention of the New York Police Department, the Mayor and the District Attorney was at once called to this menace and both the Mayor and the District Attorney assured the people of New York that the Klan would not be permitted within the city's limits. Subsequently, the Association's attention was called to the fact that the Klan was using an address in New York in an attempt to recruit members. This information was given not only to the city officials but to the New York *World*, and the Klan's representative was traced to the Army and Navy Club in New York.

Meanwhile, through press stories sent broadcast throughout the country, by mass meetings and magazine articles, the Association was making known the true nature of the Klan. So well and so thoroughly was this work done that the *Searchlight*, published in Atlanta as the organ of the Klan, called the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People its most dangerous foe; and denunciation of the Klan began to be heard not only from the pulpit but in the editorial columns of the most reputable white southern newspapers. Among the agencies which denounced the Klan in the South were the inter-racial committees, churches and the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Virginia.

In September, 1921, the New York *World*, after an exhaustive investigation, began a series of twenty articles upon the Ku Klux Klan. Not only was it shown that the Klan was attempting to suppress the Negro, but it was also exposed as spreading anti-Catholic propaganda of a most virulent character, and propaganda creating prejudice against Japanese and Jews. The Klan was shown to be bound by un-American oaths of obedience and fealty to an "imperial wizard" and its connection was established with the profitable sale of regalia. To the *World*, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had the privilege of contributing information which was publicly acknowledged in the *World's* articles. The National Association two months before the articles began to appear had placed its Ku Klux Klan files at the disposal of a representative of the *World*. Lists of the atrocities attributed to the Ku Klux Klan were published in the *World*, and public acknowledgment by the Klan of its responsibility in a number of cases.

The personal lives of the leaders of the Klan, who pretended to be leading in a campaign for moral purity, were laid bare and the *World* published the fact that two of the leaders of the Klan had been arrested in a disorderly house in Atlanta and fined,

one of those arrested being the chief woman in the Klan.

To such an extent was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People useful in exposing the Klan, that the Klan actually attempted to employ a traitorous colored man to create dissension in the Association's ranks. A former Klansman, C. Anderson Wright, writing in the New York *American*, of September 16, spoke of this dastardly attempt as follows:

Another subject of serious discussion was the realization that the power of the Negro society, known as the Society for the Advancement of Colored people, was becoming a great menace in the expansion of the Ku Klux Klan, as it was continually giving to the press publicity on the Klan's underhanded methods. This society was getting active in State Legislative work, having already succeeded in having introduced by a Negro legislator from Chicago, a bill denouncing the Klan in the Illinois Legislature. This bill was passed. It made an appeal to the citizens of Illinois to refrain from joining or associating in any manner with the Ku Klux Klan.

This activity on the part of the Negro, in the judgment of Clarke, warranted prompt action, and it was decided to set up a rival organization to the Society for the Advancement of Colored People without delay. Clarke began with a Negro in his own employ, a man of unusual intelligence, who was in charge of the servants on his farm on the outskirts of Atlanta. This servant enlisted the services of other Negroes as spies, and they attended the meetings of the society and reported everything that was said and done. Also, these spies sought to create dissatisfaction and discord among the members of the society.

It is, therefore, established, practically conclusively, that the Klan has actually been driven to employ spies to try to create dissension in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Association is gratified at the Klan's lack of success and feels this attention on the part of the Klan to be a tribute to its effectiveness in fighting the Ku Klux Klan's treason to the principles upon which the American State rests.

Following the exposure of the Ku Klux Klan's hypocrisy and treason, the National Association appealed to President Harding in a telegram urging his endorsement of a complete Federal investigation of the Klan's activities and Congressional action should that prove necessary. At about that time, Attorney General Daugherty ordered the Department of Justice to make a report on the Klan, and William J. Burns, head of the Federal secret service, turned over such a report to President Harding.

THE ARKANSAS CASES

THE fight still goes on in the Arkansas cases. The six men condemned to be executed in September are still alive.

An appeal to the Governor for reprieve was unsuccessful. Then our attorneys applied for a writ of *certiorari* to act as a stay to the execution. On learning that the writ of *certiorari* could not be obtained in time to stop the execution, as the judges of the Federal Court would not be in Washington until after the date of execution, application was made for a writ of *habeas corpus*. This was granted and made returnable Monday, September 26.

On Tuesday, September 27, a telegram was received, stating that the writ was sustained and that the execution was stayed.

Evidence is now in hand which should have large weight towards securing the freedom of the prisoners who are yet to come to trial and which will favorably affect the fate of those already condemned. The other cases will be tried in Marianna, Ark., in the near future. This will be the first opportunity to use the new evidence. The Association is leaving no stone unturned in its efforts to secure justice for these men.

We urgently appeal for contributions to the Arkansas Defense Fund to meet this critical moment in the defense of these innocent men.

CERTIFICATE MEMBERSHIP DRIVE

AT the Atlanta Conference it was voted that an attorney be employed by the Association who should give his whole time to its work. It was thought that such an arrangement, supplementing the voluntary service of the Legal Committee of the Association, would make very much more effective the legal work done by our Association.

At the Detroit Conference it was voted that as soon as the Association found itself able, it should employ regional secretaries in order that intensive work might be done towards organization in all sections of the country.

The Association so far has found itself unable to carry out these recommendations and also unable to do many other things

that it would like to enter upon because of lack of funds. One dollar from its members will not furnish sufficient revenue to do the work which needs to be done. It has not been our good fortune to secure many bequests from our well-to-do citizens, but we hope that the habit of remembering the Association in bequests may soon be established. Over 90 percent of our support comes from colored people, and it is well that this should be so; but most of these are One Dollar members. It is because One Dollar a year will not furnish sufficient means, that the branches are now being urged to conduct some time in October or November a one-week Certificate Membership Drive. In every branch there are persons whose means are such that they should donate each year to the Association $25, $50, $100, or more. Almost every member in all our branches can, without undue sacrifice, become either a Gold or a Blue Certificate member. The Gold Certificate at $10 a year means the spending of less than 20c per week for the work of securing justice for our group. The Blue Certificate at $5 a year means spending less than 10c per week for this end. None of our members is so poor that he cannot afford, if he would, 20c or 10c a week. This is very little to pay for liberty.

One Dollar members may become Gold or Blue Certificate members by paying $9 or $4, respectively. It is hoped that every branch will enter this one-week intensive campaign. The pioneer in this idea is our branch at Florence, S. C., in which a large proportion of the members are certificate members.

The one-week intensive drive is to be conducted primarily within the branch. Let every branch take as its motto: One Hundred Percent Certificate Membership!

DRIVE OF THE N. A. A. C. P.

WE have had many queries concerning the final drive report. We are herewith printing it. At the same time we wish to congratulate the branches on the splendid work they did under the very adverse circumstances produced by the economic depression.

It will be of interest to review at the same time the previous drives of the Association.

Moorfield Storey Drive (1918), new membership gained		26,916
1919 Drive		22,875
1920 (no drive held)		
1921 Drive:—		
New members gained	44,200	
New branches organized	37	
Branches over 1,000 members now	13	
Branches over 1,000 members before the Drive	3	
Branches over 500 members now	18	
Branches over 500 members before the Drive	7	
RECEIPTS		
Receipts from the Drive		$28,243.53
DISBURSEMENTS		
Printing	$1,668.84	
Buttons	822.92	
Salaries	996.46	
Postage	600.00	
	$6,284.11	
Sales of buttons and literature	1,360.12	
Net disbursements		$ 4,923.99
Net receipts from the Drive		$23,319.54

THE CASE OF HARLEM HOSPITAL

HARLEM HOSPITAL is one of the units under the control of Bellevue and Allied Hospitals' Association—the municipal hospital organization of New York City.

Harlem has 150,000 colored people, and the hospital from its location is fitted to serve their needs.

But there have been so many rumors and statements of alleged graft, mistreatment and neglect of colored patients in Harlem Hospital that the colored residents prefer to go to any other hospital in the city. It is significant that the 109th Street Hospital states that twenty per cent. of their total admissions are colored, and that eighty per cent. of these are from Harlem. The Presbyterian and St. Luke's Hospitals also have an unusually large percentage of colored admissions. These are all out of the colored district. In spite of their desire to go elsewhere, nearly half of the patients of the Harlem Hospital are colored.

In January, Mr. Cosmo O'Neil, the Superintendent of Harlem Hospital, who had been notably fair in his attitude towards colored people and who had placed colored physicians on the hospital staff, was demoted to a clerical position in Bellevue.

Alderman George W. Harris, deeming it necessary to have a friend of the colored people at Bellevue, and feeling that the demotion was not the result of any incompetency, took up the matter with Mayor Hylan, seeking the reinstatement of Mr. O'Neil. At this time, it was thought well to bring up the matter of the treatment of colored patients at Harlem Hospital and to seek a remedy.

Mr. Harris, Dr. Allen B. Graves, Attorney Morton, and Mr. Walter F. White, assistant secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., formed a committee representing the colored citizens who sought to reinstate the superintendent, but without success. After meeting with the Board, who pushed aside their requests, the committee then brought before the Mayor a mass of data they had collected concerning alleged graft, mistreatment and shameless neglect of colored patients.

The Mayor appointed Commissioner of Accounts Hirschfield to hear the complaints, and the defense. Five hearings in all were held. A mass of evidence was produced in the form of sworn affidavits and personal witnesses, charging the hospital authorities with grave offenses against colored patients.

The committee averred that these conditions only could be remedied by the presence of colored members on the Medical and Surgical Board of Harlem Hospital, and made as its minimum demand that there be appointed two such members, and that visiting physicians with the full rights of the hospital and visiting surgeons with full rights to the hospital be appointed.

Commissioner Hirshfield had the hospital records of January and February examined, and when he learned from them that forty-six per cent. of all admissions were colored, he stated that it was but fair that colored people have representation on the Board.

Much publicity was given the hearings through the reports in the *New York News*, the *Harlem Home News*, and the New York *Tribune*.

As a result of the pressure occasioned by the publicity given to the work of the colored committee, the consultants of the American Hospital Association are alleged to have offered, after the second hearing, to secure a $2,000,000 Negro hospital if the matter would be dropped.

The committee is reported to have replied that they were interested in procuring the rights of colored patients, nurses, doctors and surgeons in a municipal hospital, and not in securing a segregated institution. During the fight the original committee was in close touch with the North Harlem Medical Association, the organization of colored doctors, surgeons, dentists and pharmacists, who fully endorsed their fight and employed a special investigator and two attorneys to help in the matter. Mr. William N. Colson was employed as investigator and Mr. Aiken Pope and Mr. Ferdinand Morton as counsellors. All of these did excellent work.

It was made clear that the crux of the whole question is the admission of colored nurses and internes. The strong objection —it is alleged—is based on the necessary social intermingling this would entail.

The entire matter is not yet settled, but there have been certain important immediate results.

1. Bellevue and Allied Hospital Boards, together with the local board of Harlem Hospital, now clearly realize that colored physicians are determined to fight for their full rights.
2. Two physicals who were in the Medical Out-patient Department have been transferred to the Surgical Out-patient Department—a promotion. These are Dr. Louis T. Wright and Dr. Douglass Johnson. Two other physicians have been appointed in the Medical Out-patient Department—Dr. P. M. Murray and Dr. Ralph Young.
3. Two others have been permitted to work in the hospital, Dr. Ernest Alexander in the Skin Department and Dr. Vernon Ayer in the X-Ray Department.
4. Colored Red Cross nurses have been permitted to work.
5. The hospital also has promised to admit colored nurses.

Men of the Month.

ON October 1, 1888, during the administration of Lord Sackville West, Charles Fleurence Meline Browne entered the service of the Chancery of the British Embassy. He has served as a messenger and clerical assistant through the administrations of Lord Paunceforte, Sir Michael Herbert, Sir Mortimer Durand, Viscount Bryce, Sir Cecil A. Spring-Rice, Lord Reading, Sir Edward Grey and the present incumbent, Sir Auckland Geddes, a period of 33 years.

The Order of the British Empire was created by King George in 1917 and is one of the most popular medals given by the Crown. Mr. Browne is the first Negro, and one of the few persons in the United States, to be awarded this medal.

Mr. Browne was born in Washington, D. C., December 24, 1871. He studied in the public schools of the District of Columbia and was graduated from the law school of Howard University in 1898.

THE late Dr. Samuel John Ross was president of the College of West Africa, Liberia. He was born in British Guiana, South America, September 19, 1880. In 1902 he came to the United States and entered Lincoln University, where he was given the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Divinity in 1907. He was president and valedictorian of his class and the winner of three gold medals for oratory. In 1908 he matriculated at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, in Chicago, and was graduated in 1912 with honors.

In 1913 Dr. Ross married Miss Pearl F. Thomasson, of Chicago, and during the year they sailed for Porto Rico, where Dr. Ross did interne work at Yauco. He practiced medicine in the United States from 1915-'18; then he was appointed Medical Missionary to Liberia by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Under his administration the College of West Africa grew from an enrollment of 250 to 356. In collaboration with Mrs. Ross, a Y. W. C. A., a Y. M. C. A., and an athletic association were established, being the first of their kind in Liberia.

THE late Mrs. Musette Brooks Gregory of Newark, N. J., was a prominent volunteer social service worker in New Jersey and New York City. Mrs. Gregory was born in Washington, D. C., 44 years ago, being the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Brooks. She served as a clerk to the supervising principal of the 13th District schools and was for several years a supervisor of first year work in the public schools of Washington. She married Attorney Eugene M. Gregory, a graduate of Harvard University and a member of the Bar of New Jersey and New York.

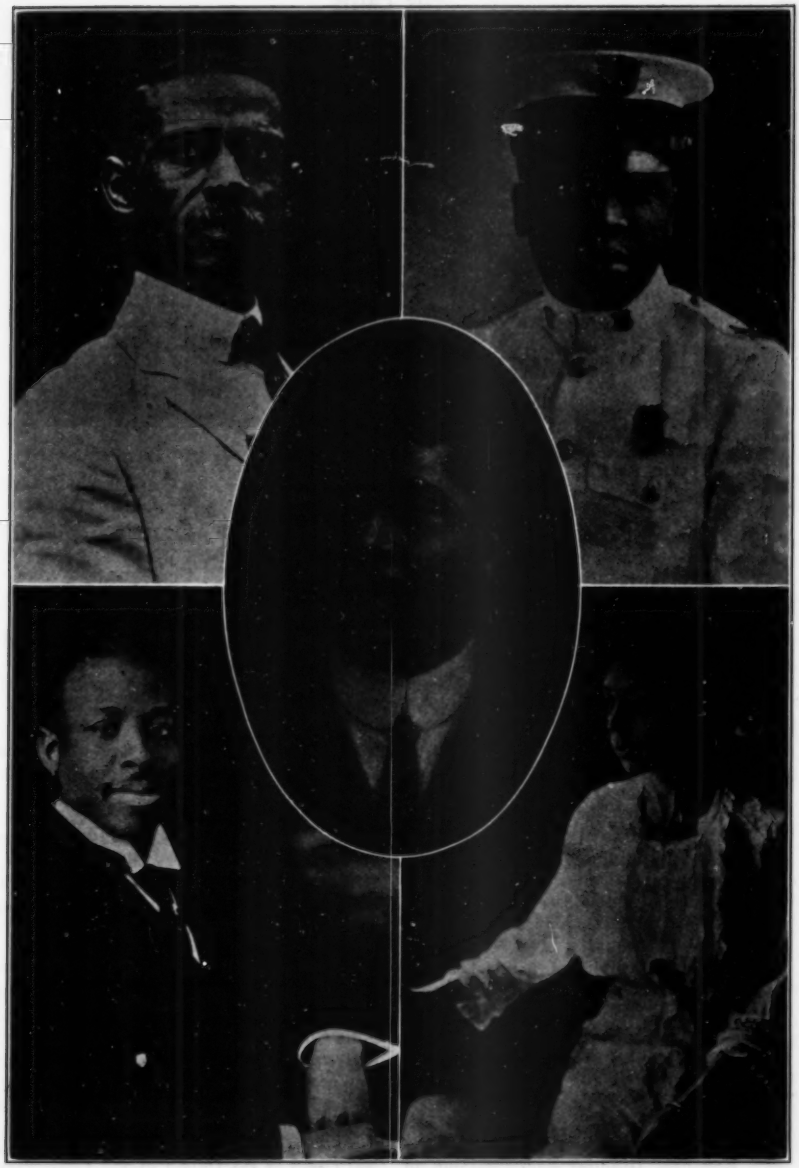
Among Mrs. Gregory's activities in New Jersey were the offices of vice-president of the Newark Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and chairman of the executive board of the New Jersey Federation of Colored Women's Clubs; in New York City she was Superintendent of the Working Girls' Home and the Colored Mission of the Diocesan Auxiliary of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, and a director of the Music School Settlement.

A scholarship in memory of Mrs. Gregory is to be established at the Manual Training and Industrial School for Colored Youth at Bordentown, N. J., by the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs.

AURELIO EDUARDO BERMUDEZ was born in the Province of Colon, August 1, 1893. He joined the police force when fourteen years of age, being the youngest member of that body, and became attached to the Bureau of Investigation. He is known as the only finger-print expert in Central America.

In 1912 Mr. Bermudez was appointed Chief of the Investigation Bureau of the City of Colon, with the rank of Sub-Lieutenant. Through Colonel Albert Lamb, Inspector General of the Police Force, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant, last October. In January of this year he was appointed Captain of the Investigation Department of the Republic, being the first and only Negro Captain on the Isthmus.

FIFTY years ago, David Jonathan Phillips was born in Jamaica. After a public school education, he studied at Calabar College and the Pharmacy School of the



CHARLES F. M. BROWNE — AURELIO E. BERMUDEZ

DR. DAVID J. PHILLIPS

THE LATE DR. SAMUEL J. ROSS — THE LATE MRS. MUSETTE B. GREGORY

Dr. Darrington Weaver Dr. Harvey A. Murray Dr. T. E. Stevens Dr. Douglas B. Johnson

Public Hospital, in Kingston, and was appointed resident dispenser at the Falmouth Public Hospital. After three years he resigned from Government service and established the Midland Dispensary, at Ulster Spring. He came to the United States and enrolled, in 1894, at the Medical Chirugical College of Philadelphia, from which he was graduated in 1898, as the winner of the Spencer Morris Special Prize of $100 for the best examination in medical jurisprudence and toxicology. He passed the Pennsylvania Medical State Board Examination, making the highest average recorded up to that time. Then he studied in Canada, where he was graduated from the Medical School of the University of Bishop's College, taking with first honors the degrees of M.D., C.M. Later, in London, he passed the examination of the Royal College of Surgeons and Physicians, and was awarded the degrees of M.R.C.S. (England), and L.R.C.P. (London). He has served as assistant physician at the Royal South London Opthalmic Hospital and as an assistant at the Royal Victoria Nose and Throat Hospital. In 1917 he was elected a member of the City Council of Kingston.

While in Philadelphia, Dr. Phillips was resident physician at the Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital and chairman of the Board of Trustees of Zion Baptist Church. He was a founder of the Banneker Building and Loan Society, and is still its president.

IN St. Louis, Mo., Dr. Darrington Weaver received the appointment of City Post-Mortem Physician, at a salary of $5,000 per year. Dr. Weaver was born in Hearne, Texas, December 31, 1889. He was graduated from Meharry Medical College in 1914.

A MEMBER of the Board of Health at Wilmington, Del., is Dr. Harvey Allen Murray, who is also a member of the staff of the Babies' Hospital and Day Nursery. Dr. Murray was born in Wilmington, November 8, 1891. He is a graduate of the Medical School of Howard University, 1913.

DR. T. E. STEVENS was born in Tuskegee, Ala., in 1880. In 1905 he was graduated from Meharry Medical College. In Tennessee, he has served as a member of the Board of Health, at Jellico, and of the Board of Aldermen, at Cleveland.

IN 1914 Dr. Douglas B. Johnson was graduated from the University of Vermont, College of Medicine. He passed the Virginia State Board, making the highest average among 75 contestants. Dr. Johnson was born February 19, 1888, in Petersburg, Va., where he was one of the founders of the William A. Crowder Memorial Hospital. He served as a Lieutenant in the Medical Corps of the United States Army, both in America and abroad. Dr. Johnson is a member of the Visiting Staff of the Harlem Hospital Out-Patient Department, in New York City.

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

My Race

MY life were lost, if I should keep
A hope-forlorn and gloomy face,
And brood upon my ills, and weep
And mourn the travail of my race.

Who are my brothers? Only those
Who were my own complexion swart?
Ah no, but all through whom there flows
The blood-stream of a manly art.

Wherever the light of dreams is shed,
And faith and love to toil are bound,
There will I stay to break my bread,
For there my kinsmen will be found.

LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL, in his
"Wings of Oppression."

* * *

Lyman Abbott writes in *The Independent* of Booker T. Washington:

Only once did I ever know him to "let himself go." This was at the graduating exercises at Hampton Institute. He and I spoke on that occasion on the same platform. The senior class certainly—if my memory serves me right, all the Institute students—were gathered on this platform, while the visitors, mostly white, were seated upon the floor of the great building. The speaker's task was a difficult one. He had to stand at one side between the two audiences and play the part of Mr. "Facing-Both-Ways." Mr. Washington turned first toward one, then toward the other, of the two audiences as he spoke. He appealed to the members of his race to secure the respect of their white neighbors, not by demanding it, but by deserving it. In an eloquent appeal to their self-respect and an eloquent portrait of what the race had done since emancipation to justify self-respect he swung himself around as on a pivot and, speaking with unaccustomed vehemence to the white portion of his audience, cried out: "I tell you, we are as proud of our race as you are of yours." It was like a flash from a before silent and supposedly unloaded gun. How the Negroes on the platform cheered him!

* * *

America's Making News tells of the piece of art to be exhibited by Meta Warrick Fuller at the coming exposition, "America's Making."

Mrs. Fuller is now at work on a commission given by the Negro Group. She is designing a statue which will be in the centre of the Negro exhibit, showing a female figure emerging from the wrappings of a mummy with hands upraised, symbolizing the self-emancipation of that race from ignorance into educated, self-reliant citizens and makers of America. This statue is being modelled at the artist's Boston studio and will be life size.

Mrs. Fuller is a pupil of Rodin and was educated at the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts.

FAR FLUNG PROPAGANDA

EVEN Denmark has been penetrated by anti-American Negro propaganda. The "Birth of a Nation" has lifted up its ugly lying head in Copenhagen. Fortunately for us Edward Franklin Frazier, who is now studying at the University of Copenhagen, was there to protest and to publish the main facts of Reconstruction in the Copenhagen *Politiken*. The editor says:

Mr. Frazier protests against the historical presentation in Griffith's Film.

A young American student of Negro descent, Mr. E. F. Frazier, who holds here a fellowship of the American Scandinavian Foundation (Niels-Poulsen Foundation), has sent us the following:

I write the following criticism of the film, "The Birth of a Nation," merely in the defense of truth. The film might be allowed to pass as any other piece of fiction lacking realism but for its pretense of historical substantiation and its veiled attack upon a righteous cause and the race that benefitted by the triumph of that cause.

After the recent World War the South, fearing that the Negroes because of their part in the struggle would thereafter resist lynching and disfranchisement, attempted to revive the infamous Ku Klux Klan. Even in the Southern States the idea of a secret organization dispensing justice was opposed by some citizens. In the city of New York the police were ordered to treat the members of the Ku Klux Klan as other criminals. In spite of this opposition an attempt was made to popularize the Klan through the most powerful educative force in America—the moving picture. Where the picture was shown, riots generally resulted not only because of the resentment on the part of Negroes but also because of the infuriated ignorant whites. The picture is barred from some cities while in other cities it is only permitted to be shown after the more objectionable parts have been deleted. Wonderful as a piece of photography but lacking real artistic setting, this picture has come to Europe to poison the minds of unsuspecting Europeans.

The most serious indictment against the picture is that it falsifies history and glorifies the most notorious band of criminals in American history. Congressional investigations proved that the Ku Klux Klan was a dangerous band of criminals bent on murdering not only innocent Negroes but also conscientious whites, who sought to erect political institutions on the ruins of the slave oligarchy. Nowhere can one find either in written records or tradition the crimes charged in the picture against Negroes during the Reconstruction. Negroes never dominated the legislature of any state during the Reconstruction Period. Only once and then for only two years in the Lower House in South Carolina did the Negroes outnumber the whites; the ratio being 3:2 and not as the picture charges more than 5:1. Laws permitting intermarriage could not have been passed by Negroes even then, for the whites always had an overwhelming majority in the Upper Chamber. The picture does not show the fact that Negroes established the first free public school system in the South. Nor do we find in it the fact that suffrage—restricted—was not granted the Negroes until the South passed the infamous Black Code which re-enslaved the Negro by such subterfuges as: *A Negro found without suitable employment shall be hired preferably to his former master for his board and lodging; and a Negro impudent to a white by word or gesture is guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be returned to his master on the same terms.*

Griffith's other play was barred, I understand, because it gave offense to Germany. But, alas! the Negro is the defenseless victim of lies and can only appeal to the conscience of mankind. I address these remarks to the good people of Copenhagen because the world has suffered so much by ignoring the mandate of the Man who said nearly 2,000 years ago: "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

FROM BRUSSELS

THE Belgian *L'Exportateur Belge* writes of the sessions of the Pan-African Congress held in Brussels. Rayford Logan translates:

After contributing with their well-known courage and self-sacrifice to the operations of war that finally assured once more the maintenance of threatened civilization, the Negroes, fighting in the ranks of the various allied armies, began to reflect in the different parts of Europe where they were in contact with a way of living and of organizing life totally unfamiliar to them, and said to one another, that it would perhaps be well to study, in their turn, the means of creating a mode of living similar to that in Europe and at the same time of qualifying themselves to fulfill, like the whites, certain functions and to occupy certain positions in order to free themselves from foreign tutelage.

Such was the basic idea of a first Pan-African Congress held in Paris in 1919 and presided over by M. Diagne, the French Deputy from Senegal and High Commissioner of the Black Senegalese Troops. There were present at these meetings delegates from all of the black races scattered over the globe. The great majority of the delegates came, however, from America where there are at present 12 millions of Negroes emancipated 60 years ago who, aided by the United States, have continued to work out their intellectual, economic and political emancipation. There are several financial institutions in America, founded and run by Negroes, and the fortune of the blacks in the United States is estimated at 5 billions. A similar development has taken place in the intellectual and educational fields. Negroes have created over there, always under the aegis of the state, schools and even a university attended only by members of their own race so that today the American Negroes have really accomplished appreciable progress.

These colored men, to use a current expression, who came from different parts of the world, and who found themselves during the war, when all rushed to the defense of a sacred cause, finally felt the desire to found a native organization—that is to say, they asked themselves what, after all, was their original country, and if they should not lay claim to it and show that by their efforts to emancipate themselves, they had conquered the right to aspire to the obtainment of positions and functions which they had not been, as it were, allowed to occupy up to the present time.

This original country, according to them, is Africa. Hence this Pan-African Congress which at the time of its first session in Paris revealed the means of civilization and of emancipation possessed by these colored men.

The movement is very interesting to study. Those who are engrossed with the question of the future and the evolution of a race that was formerly rather badly treated and—as History tells us—for a long time held in the bonds of slavery are beginning to have that idea.

The promoters of the first Congress are planning to hold a second session in Brussels.

CONCERNING MOB VIOLENCE

THE *Indianapolis News* of Indiana tells us:

One cannot read the papers even in the most casual way without being impressed and shocked by the growing popularity of lynch law in this country. Whether the victim is driven from his home, whipped, tarred and feathered, burned at the stake or hanged, the act is, in essence, lynching—

though perhaps not technically so. For it is the execution of a sentence passed by those who have no right to pass it, and the "law" enforced is nothing more than the will or whim of those who set themselves up as the guardians of what is supposed—by the guardians—to be the public welfare.

* * *

To which the Rochester, N. Y., *Herald* adds:

Racial rancor and anciently implanted antipathies are not peculiar to any section or limited by climatic or political boundaries, if recent happenings are to be taken as evidence. Even the rockribbed conservatism of New England seems not to be proof against the lynching fever when the necessary incentive is applied.

* * *

The Buffalo, N. Y., *Evening Times* gives us the following thoughts on mob violence, and points out the way to stop it.

The "authorities" in the various communities seem to be paralyzed with fright or incapacity, and indeed in some instances show a disposition entirely in sympathy with the mobs.

The thing is getting to be a fashion. Custom soon becomes law. It is a serious situation; but it raises a question still more serious,—are we degenerating as a people, or are we merely showing ourselves in our true colors? The war has torn the masks from many nations. Is its influence divesting us of a masquerade?

Whether these queries are answered in the affirmative or the negative, one thing is certain—this wave of lawlessness could, and can, be stopped forthwith by those who have been sworn to uphold the law. If the President of the United States were to issue a proclamation denouncing "lynch law" and directing the Attorney General's Department to pursue and punish with merciless severity within the Federal jurisdiction every person convicted of participation in such outrages, and if the President would further appeal to the Governors of the various States to follow his example with similar proclamations and directions to the District Attorneys of all counties in the different Commonwealths, the cowardly and dastardly "lynching parties" would instantly seek cover after the fashion of such gregarious assassins.

* * *

Through the *Herald*, of Erie, Pa., we learn:

Massachusetts and Tennessee, a northern and a southern state, have just been furnishing commendable illustrations of how to prevent lynching. They have both demonstrated that mob violence cannot prevail where the constituted authorities are possessed of the moral courage and the will to suppress it.

Barnstable and Knoxville were fortunate in the possession of resolute officials at a time when courage and resolution were most needed. In the Massachusetts case the mob displayed the usual mob characteristics and cowered when it saw itself opposed by armed authority. At Knoxville a little blood-letting was found necessary, but the mob did not stand for much of it and has probably learned its lesson.

Promptness and energy in the suppression of lawlessness is always effective. Indecision and a disposition to compromise with the mob spirit always encourages violence.

Knoxville and Barnstable have furnished two excellent examples of law enforcement which will have the unqualified approval of all who believe in American ideals.

* * *

Further, we read in the Cincinnati, Ohio, *Commercial Tribune*, these encouraging words:

In the matter of lynch law and mob execution in protection of women from the menace of brutish baseness there has just been given an expression by southern women that is at once illuminating and inspiring. The emanation is in form of a statement issued from a special section of the Georgia State Committee on Inter-Racial Co-operation. The membership of this section, it is stated, is composed entirely of southern women. The statement reads:

We believe that no falser appeal can be made to southern manhood than that mob violence is necessary for the protection of womanhood, or that the brutal practice of lynching and burning human beings is an expression of chivalry. We believe that these methods are no protection to anything or anybody, but that they jeopardize every right and every security that we possess.

That is a preachment in behalf of orderly observance of law founded on a principle that, adhered to as here set forth, cannot but bring about rigorous, righteous enforcement of law. It is an appeal from lawlessness to law, from the specious argument of curing violence by violence of the sound argument of insuring immunity under law by referring all crimes and misdemeanors to adjudication through law.

This may be womanly intuition of which we are wont to prate. It is essentially womanly intelligence sensing right which alone is cure for wrong.

* * *

The Brooklyn, N. Y., *Eagle*, observes:

It is a pleasure to note that women as women, even Georgia women, are tired of what has camouflaged the lynching terror for half a century.

. . . . . .

Former Governor Hugh Dorsey, whose manly attack on Judge Lynch was universally applauded by right-thinking persons, seemed to have been beaten down by the reactionaries when Hardwick became Governor and the executive policy was changed. But this new development gives fresh illustration to the proposition that right conduct

and true speaking are never without permanent effect, no matter how unpopular for the moment. The State of Georgia will be brought close to Dorsey's position if these energetic women keep up their work. And to the material industrial interests of Georgia no greater service can be done than the establishment of fair play to the Negroes, on whose skilled and unskilled labor the State must long depend.

THE VOTE

IN the *Call* of New York, we read:

We have had occasion the past year or two to call attention to the changing political conditions of the South as a result of the increasing importance of capitalist production in that section. We have pointed out that the Republican party has been gradually dumping its Negro traditions to win the support of the southern oligarchy Today the views of the party as formulated by Lincoln, Sumner and Seward have been practically repudiated. If these men were to return today they would find a rapidly increasing coalition of the Republican party with the southern ruling class and that the terms of the coalition are the sacrifice of the Negro. Over his prostrate body the ruling classes of two sections make peace.

A dispatch to the *Evening Post* from Richmond, Va., shows that the bargain is being consummated. It is agreed by the Republicans of that state that they are to be a "white man's party." More significant still is the statement: "It is understood that this innovation meets with entire approval at Washington." This means that the bargain with southern Democrats has the approval of the national Republican leaders. Negro Republicans were barred from the Republican Club of Richmond by the police when they sought to participate in the election of delegates to the state convention.

"In exchange for the loss of its Negro auxiliaries," we read, "the Republicans in Virginia have gained the support of many men of influence and wealth." Among these are railroad presidents, bankers, capitalists and business men of Richmond, Norfolk, Lynchburg and other cities. In short, the Republican aggregation is admitted to be a consolidation of capitalist wealth and power. It is to maintain an unwritten agreement with the Democratic party for the complete exclusion of the Negro from elections. The agreement frees the ruling class of Virginia from dependence upon one political machine.

One congressional district has been carried by the Republicans for a number of years and the Republican vote has been growing in other districts. The Republican national committee has already taken steps to eliminate the Negro from its councils and Republican conventions with the expectation that a "lily white" Republican party will increase in power in the South

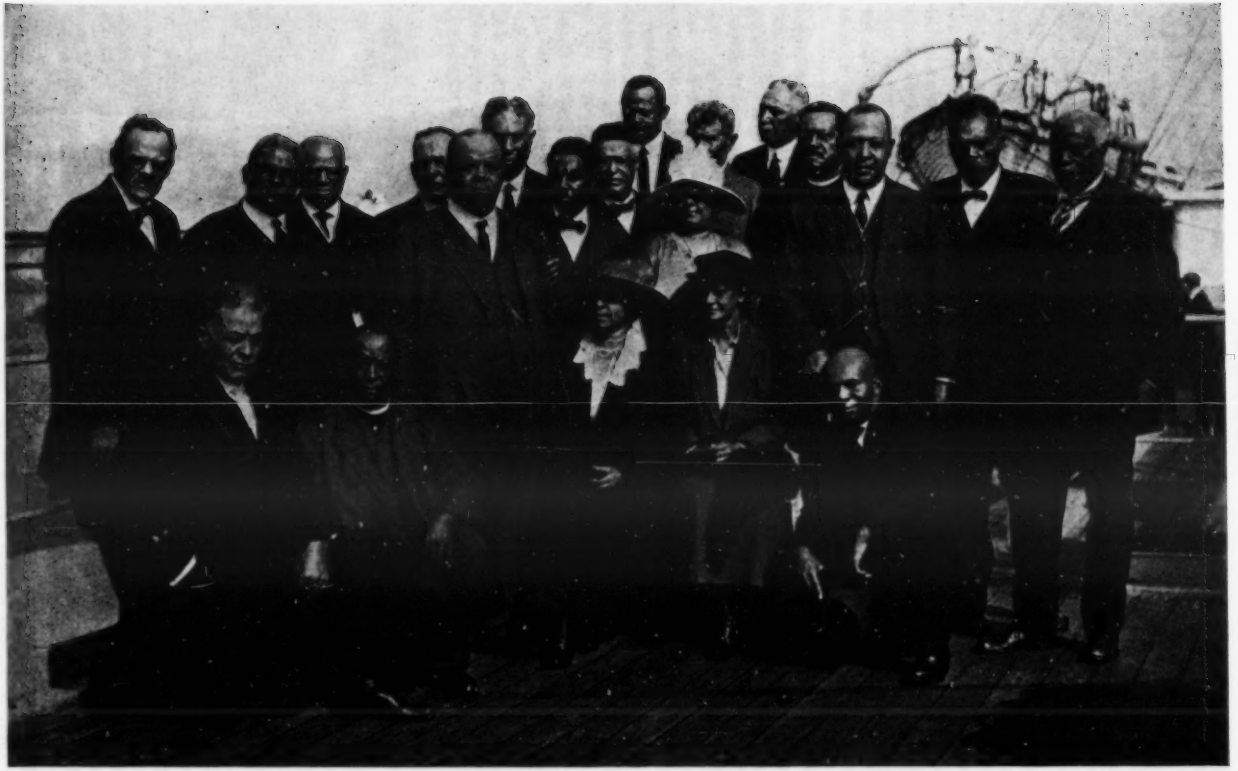
All this follows the marked economic changes of the last half century which are slowly transforming the South into an image of the capitalist North. It indicates the sweep of capitalist production to the Gulf. The old political traditions of Lincoln and other early leaders of the Republican party are being abandoned and the bargain consists of the complete social, economic and political degradation of the Negro workers of the South. It also carries with it a similar degradation for many hundreds of thousands of white workers who are excluded from the franchise by various exception laws.

The last semblance of difference between both political parties in national politics is being wiped out. Capitalism is national and its parties at last become national in scope. The Negro Republican leaders who have led masses of Negroes to their betrayal are themselves being kicked in the face for their treachery. A final chapter in the orientation of the two-party machine of capitalism is being written for the instruction of the working class of all colors and degrees of economic servitude.

THE SOUTH AND "MR."

IN an article in *The Christian Statesman*, the Hon. Bolton Smith of Memphis, Tenn., has this to say:

The white people in every locality of the South should get in close touch with the conservative local Negro leaders. They should grant all possible requests coming from them for the improvement of the schools and living conditions of their people and for their protection in person and property. Such leaders should be encouraged to speak with frankness to local white leaders of the conditions of which their people complain and fault should not readily be found with them for what they may say to their own people. If we think them mistaken we should reason with them, not threaten them. If they are not allowed a certain freedom in their intercourse with their people, we cannot expect them to have influence with them. We must begin to show, in our address to the Negro leaders for whom we feel respect, some of that respect we should show to the most ordinary members of our own race. A Negro leader of standing and character is entitled to be addressed as Mr., and his wife as Mrs., for in our own tongue we have no other title of respect. We do it now in correspondence and I believe we must do it in speech. This will be difficult to many of us, but I can see no other course if we hope to maintain relations of genuine sympathy with these leaders. This is the only civilized country in the world in which all Negroes—high and low—are addressed alike. In other lands it has been the effort to so treat the Negro leader that he would side with the white man's government. The difficulty of our problem has been increased by our failure to do this.



AMERICAN NEGRO MINISTERS AT THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF METHODISM, IN LONDON,
With portraits of Bishops Coppin, Smith and Jones; Secretaries Hawkins and Wright; Dr. W. S. Scarborough; Mrs. J. F. Hurst; and others.

COMPILED BY MADELINE G. ALLISON

MUSIC AND ART

STUDENTS of Myrtilla Miner Normal School, Washington, D. C., have presented a pageant, "The Beckoning Spirit," which depicts the history of their school. The work was under the direction of J. Francis Gregory of the English Department.

¶ Granville L. Stewart, tenor, Louie V. Jones, violinist, and William S. Lawrence, pianist-accompanist, have been making a tour of towns in Nova Scotia. Numbers that have particularly pleased their audiences are "Reflection," taken from Dunbar by William S. Lawrence; "Rising Sun," by R. Nathaniel Dett; and Negro "Spirituals," by H. T. Burleigh.

¶ Elmer C. Bartlett has given an organ recital at First A. M. E. Church, Los Angeles, Cal. His program included works of Bach, Coleridge-Taylor, Guilmant, Dubois and Horatio Parker.

¶ Mayor Hylan's Committee on City Music, in New York City, included the Negro in its presentations. The 15th Regiment Band and Revella E. Hughes, soprano, rendered numbers, among which were Tchaikowsky's "1812," Arditi's "Ah Wondrous Morn" and "Il Bacio," and Coleridge-Taylor's "Explanation."

¶ Mamie Smith, the colored "jazz" singer for phonograph records, has filled a 3-day engagement at the Regent Theatre, Baltimore, Md., where she was paid $1,000 per day.

EDUCATION

THE Atlanta School of Social Service is conducting its 2nd session at Morehouse College. Courses lead to secretaryships of associated charities, anti-tuberculosis associations and Urban Leagues; probation and attendance officers; recreation directors and welfare workers in churches, Y. M. C. A.'s, Y. W. C. A.'s and industries.

¶ Mildred D. Brown, a colored girl in Jersey City, N. J., has entered Lincoln High School at the age of eleven.

¶ Colored high school students in Brooklyn, N. Y., have organized the *Alpha Chi Sigma* Fraternity in the interest of higher scholarship. William A. Hunton, Jr., is the secretary.

¶ Governor Hyde has released $100,000 for the erection of a dormitory at Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo.

¶ The State Board of Education has voted to discontinue secondary work at West Virginia Collegiate Institute. Units of work now include colleges of education, engineering, agriculture, industrial education, arts, science, home economics and business administration. Messrs. F. C. Sumner, Ph.D., psychology; A. P. Hamblin, B.S., biology; and E. L. Kelly, B.S., home economics, have been added to the faculty. The president is John W. Davis.

¶ At the University of Chicago, H. Councill Trenholm has been awarded the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy with honors. He is a member of the *Alphi Phi Alpha* Fraternity. Mr. Trenholm will teach at the State Normal School in Montgomery, Ala., this year.

¶ Meta L. Christy, a colored girl of Kokomo, Ind., has received the degree of Doctor of Osteopathy from the Philadelphia College and Hospital for Osteopathy.

¶ Walter L. Smith has been appointed to succeed Garnet G. Wilkinson as principal of Dunbar High School in Washington, D. C. Mr. Smith is a graduate of Howard University. He has been a teacher in Washington since 1902.

¶ Prof. Roscoe C. Bruce, formerly Assistant Superintendent of Colored Schools, in Washington, D. C., has accepted the position of Rural Supervisor of Schools in Huntington, W. Va. His salary is $3,000 a year.

¶ Fort Dearborn Hospital and Training School for Nurses has been opened in Chicago, Ill. Negroes may enter for nurse training and interneship.

¶ Since the beginning of the present school session, 15 rural school houses have been opened for Negroes in Tennessee. Julius Rosenwald contributed $50,000 toward financing this work.

¶ The Colored High School at Lynchburg, Va., opened this term with a Negro faculty. Many former students, who had dropped out while white teachers were in charge, have re-enrolled.

¶ John W. Lee has been awarded a scholarship at the University of Pennsylvania.

¶ By making Grade A average, Charles H. Houston, a Negro law student at Harvard University, has automatically become one of the editors of the *Harvard Law Review*. His average, 75 percent, is the highest ever made by a colored law student.

¶ Estella Lovett has been appointed Assistant Principal at the Booker T. Washington School in Kansas City, Mo. Miss Lovett was formerly Girls' Work Secretary at the Paseo Branch of the Y. W. C. A.

¶ In Washington, D. C., the Dunbar High School opened this year with an enrollment of 1,267 as against 1,120 last year; the Armstrong Manual Training School reports an enrollment of 731, an increase of 242; at the Shaw Junior High School there are 319 students as compared with 215 on opening day last year.

¶ Charles Chandler, a Negro student in the Yale University Law School, has been appointed a contributing editor of the *Yale Law Journal*.

MEETINGS

OVER 8,000 people were in attendance at the National Baptist Convention, Inc., which was held in Chicago. Dr. E. C. Morris, of Little Rock, Ark., was re-elected president. The Rev. Mr. L. G. Jordan resigned the secretaryship, after 26 years' service. He was made secretary emeritus with a salary of $1,200 per year and a purse of $2,500. Dr. J. E. East, a returned missionary from Africa, was elected to succeed Mr. Jordan. The financial report shows $323,860 raised during the year. Dr. Morris denounced the plan of northern white Baptists to set up regional organizations among Negroes.

¶ The Lott-Carey Foreign Mission Convention and the Women's Auxiliary have been held in Newark, N. J. The sum of $38,000 was raised for work in Africa, South America and Haiti. Dr. C. S. Brown and Mrs. J. H. Randolph, of Richmond, Va., are presidents of the convention and the auxiliary.

¶ More than 300 delegates attended the 8th triennial convention of St. Joseph's Aid Society, which convened in Jersey City, N. J. The organization has 100,000 members and property valued at $100,000; its cash balance is $50,000. Dr. Thomas H. B. Walker, of Jacksonville, Fla., is president.

¶ Four thousand people attended the Baptist Convention, unincorporated, which was held in New Orleans, with Dr. E. P. Jones presiding. Dr. R. H. Boyd, corresponding secretary of the National Baptist Publishing Board, reported that more than $225,000 had been collected by the Board. With the addition of the National Baptist Theological Seminary and Training School at Nashville, worth $250,000, the publishing plant is valued at $750,000.

INDUSTRY

THE Square Deal Realty & Loan Company, a Negro enterprise in Kansas City, Mo., is conducting departments in real estate, insurance, mortgage loans and home building. Its capital of $250,000 is fully paid and non-assessable. It is paying quarterly dividends of 8 percent. Samuel R. Hopkins is president.

¶ At Buffalo, N. Y., the Haitian-African Coffee Company, a Negro concern, owns a 4-story building where colored people are employed in roasting and blending coffee.

¶ Mr. R. S. Cobb, secretary of the Missouri Negro Industrial Commission, has published a bulletin on housing and health conditions in Missouri.

¶ A Negro clerk in the Jersey City, N. J., Post Office, Robert Evans, has been promoted to the position of statistician.

¶ Among employees in the Department of Finance of Jersey City, N. J., are the following Negroes: James Tate and Clarence Jones, rent inspectors; Gilbert Brown, jitney inspector, and Louis Faulkner, deputy sheriff.

¶ In Akron, Ohio, Norman Kerr is a stenographer in the Engineer's Office, being the first Negro clerk in this office.

¶ Zora E. O. Tinsley, a blind Negro in Muskogee, Okla., owns 45 miles of telephone service. He has 49 subscribers who pay from $2.50 to $3.50 per month. Mr. Tinsley does his own line work, repairs instruments and makes installations.

¶ Fourteen years ago, Charles Copper, a

Negro, entered the Civil Service of Chicago, Ill., as a junior clerk. He now holds a position in the Division of Pipe Yards and Stores, with 17 clerks, 13 of whom are white, under his charge.

¶ Up to April 30, 1921, the colored Berry & Ross Manufacturing Company, in New York City, made a net sale of $37,312; it paid to its colored workers, $14,560.

¶ The report of the Laborers' Penny Savings and Loan Company, in Waycross, Ga., shows that during the fiscal year ending August 31, 1921, the paid-in capital had increased from $28,811 to $47,463; deposits, from $68,318 to $97,060; total resources, from $107,705 to $149,677. The bank owns $16,025 worth of real estate, $7,301 in stock and Liberty Bonds, and has no bills payable. A dividend of 8 percent was declared. The officers are: Carlton W. Gains, president; Dr. H. C. Scarlett, vice-president; J. C. McGraw, treasurer; and O. R. Harper, cashier.

¶ William A. Cornelius, a Negro in New York City, has been appointed to a clerkship in the Office of the Collector of Internal Revenue. His salary is $1,600 per year.

¶ In the City Tax Office in Philadelphia, Pa., there are 2 colored deputy delinquent tax collectors, 2 deputy collectors, 7 senior grade clerks and 2 janitors.

CRIME

THE following lynchings have taken place since our last record:

Aiken, S. C., September 8, Mansfield Butler, shot; attacking woman.

Aiken, S. C., September 8, Charlie Thompson, shot; attacking woman.

Columbia, La., September 13, Gilman Holmes, burned; attacking ticket agent.

Pittsboro, N. C., September 18, Ernest Daniels, hanged; attacking woman.

McComb, Miss., September 19, Edward McDowell.

POLITICS

NEGROES have for the first time been appointed to the Hudson County, N. J., Board of Election. The appointees are Mrs. Florence Jerome, Mrs. Rosa Frazier, Miss M. Goldsborough, Mrs. Ella Barksdale Brown, Dr. G. Warren Hooper, C. Bion Jones and Alderwin Thomas.

¶ In the primary election in Baltimore, two Negro Republicans won nomination as delegates to the Maryland Legislature. The nominees are Attorney Arthur E. Briscoe, who has served a clerkship in the Legislature, and David Robinson, a business man. Each candidate was fourth on his district list, with 1,148 and 1,700 votes, respectively.

¶ Amos W. Scott, a Negro in Philadelphia, won Republican nomination for City Magistrate.

¶ In the primary election in New York City, two Negro members of the Board of Aldermen—Dr. Charles H. Roberts and George W. Harris, were re-nominated.

¶ Negroes in Louisville, Ky., have organized the Lincoln Independent Party. A full city and county ticket, with the exception of the judiciary, will be put into the field.

FRATERNITIES

IN Jacksonville, Fla., the Progressive Order of Men and Women has held its first Grand Congress. The Order, which was organized 10 years ago, has a membership of 1,500. Dr. H. W. James, Dr. John E. Ford and Professor N. W. Collier are officials, and the Hon. Mr. George E. Taylor is general organizer. Among measures adopted by the Congress is the erection of a $100,000 temple.

¶ Masons in Indianapolis, Ind., have laid the cornerstone of a $100,000 temple.

¶ The mortgage on the Masonic Temple in Jacksonville, Fla., has been burned. The temple is valued at $500,000. Mr. O. D. Powell is Grand Master.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

THIRTEEN meetings to promote health educational plans were held last month for ministers, physicians and leaders of public thought in Chicago by the Chicago Urban League. Dr. Ralph B. Stewart, of the United States Public Health Service, and Franklin O. Nichols, of the American Social Hygiene Association, were the speakers.

¶ T. Arnold Hill, Executive Secretary of the Chicago Urban League, is serving as a member of the Executive Committee of the Unemployment Conference formed to handle unemployment in that city.

¶ Through the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, affiliated with the National Urban League, an athletic director for girls at the Durham Public School has been appointed. Besides her athletic work with

girls during the period allotted for recreation, she is developing self-governing clubs.

¶ The Home and School Vistors, formerly employed by the Armstrong Association as a demonstration of the possibilities of school visiting, have been taken over by the public school system—thus justifying the experiment of the Armstrong Association.

¶ In the neighborhood of one public school in Philadelphia, which has about 1,400 colored pupils, the work of a Home and School Vistor has resulted in the establishment of one of the best equipped day nurseries in Philadelphia, the Harrison Day Nursery. It has accommodations for 70 children.

¶ The Mayor's Unemployment Committee of New York City has as one of its members, James H. Hubert, Executive Secretary of the New York Urban League.

¶ The "Fellows" appointed by the National Urban League for the school year 1921-22 are: T. Lloyd Hickman, graduate of Denison University, assigned to the New York School of Social Work; Miss Katherine B. Watts, graduate of Fisk University, assigned to the New York School of Social Work; and Miss Myrtle D. Hull, graduate of Spelman Seminary, assigned to the School of Economics of the University of Pittsburgh.

¶ The Annual Conference of the National Urban League was held in Chicago, October 19 to 22. Among subjects discussed were unemployment, the Negro migrant, plans for recording and interpreting statistics as a basis for practical social effort, industrial relations and co-operation between the races.

¶ The Department of Research and Investigations of the National Urban League, of which Charles S. Johnson is the director, has completed a social survey of the Negroes in Flushing, L. I., and is now at work on a similar study in Hartford, Conn. It is working under the immediate auspices of the Mayor's Americanization Committee.

¶ As a result of the child hygiene work which is being done in Newark, N. J., by three colored nurses appointed through the efforts of the New Jersey Urban League, Dr. Julius Levy, Director of the Bureau of Child Hygiene, reports that infant mortality among colored babies for the first six months of 1921 was 106 per 1,000 births, while for 1920 it was 173 per 1,000 births, and for 1919 it was 171 per 1,000 births. This is a reduction in one year of 67 points.

¶ Dr. George E. Haynes was appointed a member of President Harding's Unemployment Conference, following protests of the National Urban League and its branches against the omission of Negro representation. Dr. Haynes was assigned special work with the Committee on Community Civic and Emergency Measures in dealing with unemployment. Col. Arthur Woods, of New York, is chairman of this committee.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

THE *Reconnaissance Française*, a bronze medal, has been awarded to Dr. Harriet A. Rice by the French Government for services in the French military hospitals during the world war. Dr. Rice is a Negro graduate of Wellesley College and of the Women's Medical College of New York.

¶ Victor R. Daly has been appointed to the staff of the *Journal of Negro History*, in Washington, D. C., as business manager. Mr. Daly is a graduate of Cornell. He served as a Lieutenant in the 367 "Buffalo" Regiment.

¶ Mrs. E. D. Cannaday, a colored woman of Portland, Ore., has been admitted to the Bar. She recently pleaded a case in Judge Morrow's court and won her action.

¶ New York City has its first Negro detective sergeant, in the person of Wesley Redding. Mr. Redding has been connected with the Police Department 18 months.

¶ A tablet in memory of Hayward Sheppard is to be erected in Harper's Ferry, W. Va., by the Daughters of the Confederacy. Mr. Sheppard, a Negro porter, was the first person killed in the raid of John Brown.

¶ The price of business property which Dr. Charles E. Herriot purchased in St. Louis, Mo., is $30,000 instead of $80,000.

¶ Mr. C. G. Williams, of Booneville, has been appointed Inspector of Negro Schools in Missouri.

¶ The 25th anniversary of the Northeastern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs has been celebrated in Baltimore, Md. Miss Elizabeth Carter, of New Bedford, Mass., is president.

¶ In the national tennis championship meet, Tally Holmes, of Washington, D. C., won in men's singles, defeating Dr. O. B. Williams, of Chicago. The scores were 6—4,

9—7, 6—3. In the women's singles, Miss Lucy Slowe, of Washington, D. C., defeated Miss Isadore Channels, of Chicago. Tally Holmes and Sylvester Smith were victors in the finals of the men's doubles. The mixed doubles championship went to Miss Esther Hawkins and Harold Freeman. Ted Thompson won the national junior title.

¶ Miss Bessie Coleman, a colored woman of Chicago, Ill., has become a certified aviatrix, after a course in aviation at the Condrau School in France.

¶ Charles S. Gilpin, the Negro star in Eugene O'Neill's "The Emperor Jones," has been received in private audience by President Harding.

¶ At its recent session in Milwaukee, Wis., the Army and Navy Union elected John E. Smith, a Negro of Washington, D. C., as national historian. The vote was 149-17.

¶ John H. Pride, a Negro in Elizabeth, N. J., is the winner of the 50 target merchandise event of the Duane Gun Club. Mr. Pride broke 49 clay birds out of a possible 50; he had two competitors trying for second honors, with 47. In a 100 target match, Mr. Pride broke 97 birds.

¶ Samuel A. Barnett has been awarded a verdict of $100 against the Philadelphia Confectionery Company of Hackensack, N. J., for discrimination.

¶ Earl Johnson, a Negro athlete, of Braddock, Pa., won the Masonic marathon race in Detroit. He finished 22½ miles in 2 hours, 17 minutes and one-fifth of a second.

¶ Frank R. Willis, a Negro poultryman, won the Grand Championship at the Kentucky State Fair, defeating 3,850 fowls of all breeds for the honor.

¶ The "Committee of One Hundred" to entertain visitors to the conference on the Limitation of Armament, to be held in Washington, D. C., has the following Negro members: Messrs. Emmett J. Scott, D. W. Wiseman, W. L. Houston, George Cook, Henry Lincoln Johnson, W. A. Warfield and James A. Cobb.

¶ The African Progress Union of London, England, gave a public reception to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, September 29, at the Portman Rooms, Baker Street. Dr. John Alcindor presided.

¶ A pageant on the history of the Negro race called "The Open Door" will be given in New York City, November 22, at Carnegie Hall. It is for the benefit of Atlanta University.

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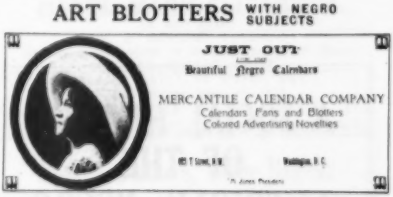

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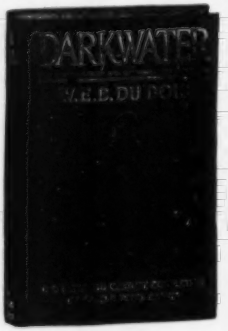

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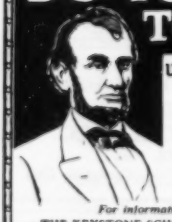

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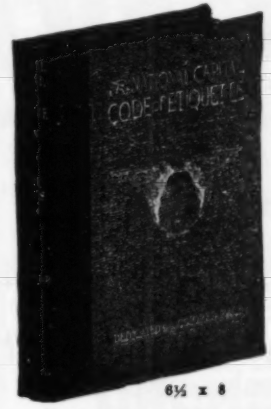

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